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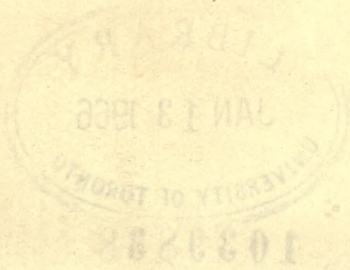
THE ESSAYS OF FRANCIS BACON

EDITED WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

BY

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IN MEMORY OF
MY MOTHER
JULIA ANNE BOYER SCOTT

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PREFACE

IN this edition of Bacon's *Essays*, I have used the text of James Spedding, *The Works of Francis Bacon*, Vol. XII, 1857-1874. Mr. Spedding edited the *Essays* with the Latin translation before him, and the large majority of his footnotes explain the English text by giving, untranslated, the corresponding Latin translation. In order to simplify the page, all the Latin footnotes have been omitted. Further, I have omitted all of Mr. Spedding's English notes but seventeen, which are distinguished from my own notes by the signature 'S.' The seventeen notes that I have retained bear wholly upon matters of text on which Mr. Spedding is the final authority. For example, in the essay, *Of Unity in Religion*, I have kept the note calling attention to Bacon's use of the double negative. In the essay, *Of Empire*, Mr. Spedding's note, from his fellow editor, Mr. Robert Leslie Ellis, is historically interesting, because it shows Bacon following the old physiology. If Bacon had lived two years longer than he did, to hear of Harvey's discovery of the circulation of the blood, he would undoubtedly have revised his metaphor of "the gate-vein, which disperseth the blood" out of both the *Essays* and *The Historie of the Raigne of King*

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Henry the Seventh. Mr. Spedding's note on the essay, *Of Nature in Men*, tells us that Bacon's use of the verb 'lay' where 'lie' would now be employed may mean that the verbs 'lie' and 'lay' had not become differentiated in his time. All information like this about a classical English author is invaluable to the student, for it encourages accuracy in reading a text and reverence in handling it.

Mr. Spedding translated Bacon's frequent quotations from Latin authors and put his English rendering into the body of the text, in brackets. To make the page clear and pleasing to the eye, I have omitted all the bracketed English translations of Mr. Spedding. My own translations to replace them have been put in the footnotes. In making new translations from the Latin, I have endeavored to bear in mind three things,—to keep near the Latin sense, to use simple idiomatic English, and to catch the Latin spirit, and indeed Bacon's spirit, by being at least brief. It is not possible to read any work of Bacon and know just what he is saying without a reading knowledge of Latin, for he is likely to quote Tacitus or Cicero or Seneca on almost every page. I am of those who deplore the displacement of Latin literature in our schools and colleges by vaguer subjects requiring less mental exertion. I have therefore made no effort either to minimize or to popularize Tacitus and Cicero. They are of the elect. They become more elect, more the aristocrats of letters, as an irrepressible and levelling democracy passes them by on its primrose path to an educational ideal of "small

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Latin and less Greek." I hope, however, that students of Latin will find my treatment of Bacon's Latin helpful in familiarizing them with the language. With this idea in view, instead of simply locating the Latin quotations, I have frequently given the classical quotation to show the original thought of the Roman author and Bacon's Latin paraphrase of it side by side. In almost every instance I think it will be seen that Bacon while retaining the substance of the thought has expressed it in briefer and simpler Latin. This is partly the difference between a Roman writing his own language when it was living and an Englishman writing it in the age of Elizabeth when it was dead. But it is more than that. It is the piercing intellect of Bacon seeing clear and thinking straight, and shooting its arrow of expression right into the bull's-eye. An example in point is the quotation from Sallust, on the contradictoriness of kings, in the essay, *Of Empire*. There, making use of the bare thought, Bacon attributes it to Tacitus, but quoting it again in full Latin idiom, in the *Advancement of Learning*, he ascribes it correctly to Sallust. Bacon is an author who is not afraid to repeat himself, rather he is of opinion that a good idea is worth repeating. I have noted the recurrence of many of the Latin quotations of the *Essays* in the *Advancement of Learning*. Dr. William Rawley records that he had a habit of quoting the substance of another man's words, but in better form. Tacitus, in the first book of his *Historiae* sums up the character of Vespasian as emperor in fourteen words.

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Bacon quotes the character in the essay, *Of Great Place*, in six Latin words; in the *Advancement of Learning* the six words are reduced to five.

In citations from the *Bible*, Bacon frequently has the *Vulgate* in mind, quoting it freely just as he quotes Tacitus and Cicero. I have examined all these quotations, and in a number of cases my notes point out variations between the Latin of the *Vulgate* and Bacon's rendering of it.

In some cases, in order to draw attention to an English word derived directly from a Latin one, I have purposely made a Latinized translation in preference to a more idiomatic one which would have satisfied my own language sense better. One of these premeditated Latinized translations is that from Lucan's *Pharsalia* in the essay, *Of Seditions and Troubles*.

Words whose meaning has changed since Bacon's time and obsolete words are defined once only, unless the same word occurs in more senses than one. In defining words, I have followed the authority of the *New English Dictionary* as far as that work is published, which is at this time, with some breaks, down to the word 'reserve.' Where the Oxford dictionary is not yet available, I have used the *Century Dictionary*. The words that I have had to define most frequently have been the prepositions 'to,' 'in,' 'of,' 'by,' 'upon,' 'after,' and the like. As one studies the history of these little words, they appear to act the part of sentinels in the expansion of English. Behind them lies the great army of nouns, forever assuming fresh mean-

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ings to advance into foreign territory, and forever compelling the sentinel prepositions to take up new outposts in order to hold the position gained.

To illustrate Bacon's use of language, I have made a point of drawing upon Shakspeare and the Bible. The *Authorized Version* of the Bible was being translated between the years 1607 and 1610, and was published in 1611. Either *The Tempest*, composed about 1610 or 1611, or *The Winter's Tale*, acted May 15, 1611, is Shakspeare's last complete play. Bacon brought out the second edition of his *Essays*, the bulk of them, in 1612. Illustrations from King James's Bible and from Shakspeare are the best to be had to explain the English of Bacon's *Essays*, for the three great classics are almost as precisely contemporaneous as it is possible to be. Making the citations without forethought just as they occurred to me, I found on completing the notes that all the thirty-seven plays of Shakspeare had been called into requisition to illustrate Bacon's fifty-eight essays.

"Thy creatures have been my books, but thy Scriptures much more," Bacon wrote in humiliation after his pitiful fall from power. Bacon's knowledge of the Bible, both the *Vulgate* and the *Authorized Version*, was thorough and familiar, and he uses it with fine effect, producing that mixture of simplicity and grandeur which marks his style. There is some suggestion of the Bible on almost every page of the *Essays*. Wherever the Bible is quoted, and wherever there is a reflection of its language or phraseology, I have given in my

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notes the exact reference, using the *Authorized Version* which Bacon knew, and the *Vulgate*, for the Latin allusions.

But while I have made large use of Shakspeare and the Bible, my illustrative notes are by no means confined to the seventeenth century. The English language looks backwards as well as forwards, and I have put its literature to use over the centuries from Chaucer to Thomas Hardy. Some of the quotations from Scottish literature indicate the survival in Scots of forms used by Bacon, but now either lost or obsolescent in English.

I have ventured to hope that my notes may serve a double purpose, not only to make Bacon's thought clear, but to rouse interest and to stimulate to further reading. Occasionally they point a pretty moral and are meant to. Sydney Smith's "Maxims to make one get up" is the happiest of renderings for the Latin proverb in *Of Parents and Children*, while the quotation from *The Faery Queene* under the word 'indignity,' *Of Great Place*, gives Spenser's thought on corruption or 'graft.'

I think I took most pleasure in editing the essay, *Of Gardens*. It is not possible now to know just what iris Bacon meant by the 'chamaïris,' or whether 'flos Africanus' was the botanical name of the French marigold in his day, but as far as I could I have identified botanically all the plants and flowers Bacon mentions in his Elizabethan garden, except those so familiar as to need no comment. And wherever any of them is mentioned by Shakspeare I have added a posy from his plays. But

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Keats and Cowper and Tennyson and Ben Jonson and Thomson and Evelyn and Dryden also walked in Bacon's garden, and last, but not least, Sir Walter Scott was there showing his friend, Susan Edmonstone Ferrier, about.

To insure absolute clearness, all titles of books, both English and Latin, have been cited in full. Abbreviations, especially Latin abbreviations, are more misunderstood and so more disregarded than is generally supposed. Elizabethan titles are given in Elizabethan spelling, and in general in the older literature the older spellings have been preserved.

Finally, the notes explain briefly Bacon's historical allusions. All references, whether to Bacon's reading in writing the *Essays*, or to my own in editing them, have been personally verified.

MARY AUGUSTA SCOTT.

NORTHAMPTON, MASS.,

INTRODUCTION

I

FRANCIS BACON

FRANCIS BACON was born January 22, 1561, at York House, in the Strand, London, the youngest of the eight children of Sir Nicholas Bacon, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal. Sir Nicholas Bacon, a staunch Protestant and a good lawyer, was one of that remarkable group of able men the young Queen Elizabeth gathered around her upon her accession to the throne, in 1558. Of her Lord Keeper, William Camden says, "She relied on him as the very oracle of the law."

Sir Nicholas Bacon was twice married; first, to Jane Fernely, daughter of William Fernely, of West Creting, Suffolk, who died leaving three sons and three daughters, and second, to Anne Cooke, second daughter of Sir Anthony Cooke, of Gidea Hall, Essex. Lady Anne Cooke Bacon was the mother of Anthony and Francis Bacon. Coming into the world the son of a Lord Keeper, in York House, which he was himself to occupy as Lord Keeper in after years, Francis Bacon was as truly born to commanding position in life as is a king's

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son. Many of his kinsmen held distinguished positions and filled them with credit to themselves and the nation. Lady Bacon was left a widow as a comparatively young woman, so that we naturally hear more of her family in the history of her famous son, than of his half-brothers and half-sisters, who were considerably older. But what has come down to us of his relations with these elder Bacons helps materially to reconstruct his environment.

The Elizabethans were great builders. The Wars of the Roses ended forever in England the necessity of building for protection from hostile neighbors, and the policy of internal peace fostered by the Tudors enabled Englishmen to accumulate wealth. Landholders under Queen Elizabeth could afford to build beautiful homes, and they liked to surround themselves with the new luxuries brought to their notice in England by the travellers, especially by the travellers in France and Italy. In domestic architecture, two of these luxuries were glass windows, which often fill up the side of a room in an Elizabethan house, and spacious gardens encircling the entire building and adorned with all sorts of devices, some original and some more or less crudely adapted from formal gardens abroad. Sir Nicholas Bacon, though not a rich man, built two houses. Redgrave, Guilford, Suffolk, where he had married his first wife, was without gardens, and so limited in size that Queen Elizabeth visiting her Lord Keeper there told him his house was too small. "No, Madam," replied Sir Nicholas, "my house is not too small for me, but your Majesty has made me

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too great for my house." Gorhambury, near St. Albans, was a larger house. About Gorhambury, says Edmund Lodge, in his *Portrait* of Sir Nicholas Bacon, he added "gardens of great extent, in the contrivance and decoration of which every feature of the bad taste of his time was abundantly lavished." Gorhambury was left to Lady Anne Bacon, and ultimately became the property and the country home of Francis Bacon.

The mansion of Redgrave was inherited by Sir Nicholas Bacon, 2d, who was doubtless hard pressed to support there his family of nine sons and three daughters. Nathaniel Bacon, second of the elder sons, is described as of Stiffkey, Norfolk. He was something of an artist. Playing upon the name and domestic habits of his stepmother, Anne Cooke Bacon, he made a portrait of her, now at Gorhambury, dressed as a cook and standing in a litter of dead game. The third elder brother, Edward Bacon, obtained from Queen Elizabeth, in 1574, a lease of Twickenham Park, on the Thames fronting the royal palace at Richmond. Francis Bacon's letters as a young man are often dated from Twickenham Park, showing that he lived from time to time at his half-brother's country seat.

In 1597, when Bacon was elected to Parliament for Ipswich, the family county town, he had as colleagues no less than six kinsmen. His brother Anthony sat for Oxford; his half-brother, Nathaniel, for Lynn; his cousin, Sir Edward Hoby, for Rochester; his cousin, Sir Robert Cecil, for Herts; while Henry Neville, who represented Liskeard,

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was his nephew, the son of his half-sister, Elizabeth Bacon, whose second husband was Sir Henry Neville. Another connection of Bacon's in the Parliament of 1597 and his colleague in the representation for Ipswich was Michael Stanhope, grand-nephew to his mother.

Lady Anne Cooke Bacon, a remarkable woman, was a member of a remarkable family. Her father, Sir Anthony Cooke, tutor to King Edward VI, had five daughters, who received the same careful, thorough education that he gave to his sons. They all became highly educated women and all five made brilliant and happy marriages. Mildred, the eldest, became the second wife of William Cecil, Lord Burghley, the great Lord Treasurer who guided Elizabeth's government so adroitly and so wisely. Elizabeth Cooke, the third daughter, married twice; first, Sir Thomas Hoby, ambassador to France and translator of *Il Cortegiano* (*The Courtier*), which Dr. Johnson described as "the best book that ever was written on good breeding," and, second, John, Lord Russell, son of Francis Russell, second Earl of Bedford; Catherine Cooke married Sir Henry Killigrew, of that family of Killigrews of Cornwall which in the time of the Restoration produced the two dramatists, father and son, Thomas Killigrew senior and junior; Margaret Cooke married Sir Ralph Rowlett.

Anne Cooke Bacon is said to have been able to read Latin, Greek, Italian, and French, "as her native tongue." There remain two translations by her, both showing her interest in the Protestant

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cause. Before her marriage she translated *Certain Sermons of the ryghte famous and excellent clerk Master B. Ochine* (1550?). This is a collection of sermons by the Italian Protestant preacher, Bernardino Ochino, who was a prebend of Canterbury under Archbishop Cranmer. Fourteen of the twenty translated sermons are the work of Anne Cooke. The most interesting literary work of Bacon's mother is a translation from the Latin of Bishop Jewel's *Apologia Ecclesiae Anglicanae*, 1562, entitled *Apologie or aunswer in defence of the Church of England*, 1562 and 1564. The second edition contains a prefatory address to Lady Bacon as the translator, by Archbishop Parker. It seems that she had submitted the MS. to him, accompanied by a letter written in Greek, and he returned it to her printed. An Elizabethan Protestant treatise says,—“The *apologie* of this Church was written in Latin, & translated into English by A. B. (Anne Bacon) with the comendation of M. C. (Mildred Cecil), which twaine were sisters, & wives unto Cecil and Bacon, and gave their assistance and helping hands in the plot and fortification of this newe erected synagog.” Queen Elizabeth thought so highly of the *Apologie* that she ordered a copy of it to be chained in every parish church in England. Many of Lady Bacon's letters to her sons Anthony and Francis are extant. They are written in vigorous English interspersed with quotations from Greek and Latin writers, and the picture of family relations they reveal is highly interesting.

These details show how exceptional were the cir-

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cumstances surrounding Bacon by right of birth. He was brought up in the society of the greatest personages in England and was known to the Queen as a child. Dr. William Rawley, his chaplain and first biographer, tells the story of Elizabeth's attraction towards the bright boy. The Queen "delighted much then to confer with him, and to prove him with questions; unto whom he delivered himself with that gravity and maturity above his years, that Her Majesty would often term him, *The Young Lord-Keeper*. Being asked by the Queen *how old he was*, he answered with much discretion, being then but a boy, *That he was two years younger than Her Majesty's happy reign*; with which answer the Queen was much taken." This anecdote, furnishing the only glimpse of Francis Bacon as a child, is as picturesque as it is authentic.

In April, 1573, Francis and Anthony Bacon, boys of twelve and fourteen, respectively, were entered as fellow-commoners of Trinity College, Cambridge, under the care of John Whitgift, then Master of Trinity and Vice-Chancellor of the University, and afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury. Whitgift's account-book tells us incidentally what was the general course of study at Trinity College in Bacon's boyhood. It shows that between April, 1573, and Christmas, 1575, he supplied the Bacon boys with the following books,—Caesar, Cicero, Livy, Sallust, Xenophon, Homer's *Iliad*, Hermogenes, Demosthenes's *Olynthiacs*, Aristotle, and Plato. We do not know how these authors were studied, but it is certain that Francis Bacon left Cambridge in his six-

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teenth year with a good knowledge of the Greek and Latin classics and a love of reading. There are those who doubt whether any system of education can produce a better result than that. Bacon was "drenched" in classicism, to use one of his own telling words. In after years when he sat down in his study to marshal his thoughts on any subject he recalled as if by instinct the wisdom of the ancients. He could command as easily the judgments of the great Greek and Roman historians as the imagination of the great Greek and Roman poets. Tacitus sums up for him in immortal phrase a contemporary character, and Homer and Vergil guide his expression in the vivid imagery that embroiders and illumines his language, like old carving in wood or stone, or the rich binding of a rare and princely book.

Besides Whitgift's accounts, two anecdotes of Bacon's undergraduate days survive, both as characteristic of the future philosopher as the story of the young Lord Keeper is of the future courtier. One is a reminiscence of his own recorded in *Sylva Sylvarum*, (*Century* II. 151),—

"I remember in Trinity College in Cambridge, there was an upper chamber, which being thought weak in the roof of it, was supported by a pillar of iron of the bigness of one's arm, in the midst of the chamber; which if you had struck, it would make a little flat noise in the room where it was struck, but it would make a great bomb in the chamber beneath." Dr. Rawley relates the other story,—
"Whilst he was commorant [a resident] in the Uni-

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versity, about sixteen years of age, (as his lordship hath been pleased to impart unto myself), he first fell into the dislike of the philosophy of Aristotle; not for the worthlessness of the author, to whom he would ever ascribe all high attributes, but for the unfruitfulness of the way; being a philosophy (as his lordship used to say) only strong for disputations and contentions, but barren of the production of works for the benefit of the life of man; in which mind he continued to his dying day."

This early interest in the physics of sound, a subject which always attracted Bacon, is as significant as the youthful judgment on the unfruitfulness of the philosophy of Aristotle. The judgment makes the distinction between philosophy embracing all knowledge, as the ancients understood it and as indeed it does, and science, for which Bacon's term "natural history" is now old-fashioned. With Bacon, essentially a literary man, science was to lose its moorings to letters.

At the end of three years Bacon left Cambridge, and at the age of about sixteen and a half years, was entered into the Society of the "Ancients" of Gray's Inn. Almost immediately after he had begun the study of law, an opportunity offered for him to travel and see the world. Sir Amias Paulet, who was sent to France as the Queen's ambassador, in 1576, invited Francis Bacon to go with him as a member of his household. Dr. Rawley says,—“He was after awhile held fit to be entrusted with some message or advertisement to the Queen; which having performed with great approbation, he returned

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back into France again, with intention to continue for some years there." He remained about two years, spending most of the time in Paris, but following the French Court to Blois, Tours, and Poitiers. Henry III, of Valois, was the French King and Catharine de' Medici the queen mother. The wars and intrigues of the Holy League were going on and the events stirring which led to the assassination of Henry III. The essays, *Of Revenge*, *Of Custom and Education*, and *Of Prophecies*, allude to the political and social influences that surrounded the young attaché of the English ambassador. In *Prophecies*, "one Dr. Pena" tells the inquiring lad a story about an astrologer and "the queen mother, who was given to curious arts." Another personal allusion to his stay in France occurs in the sixth book of the *De Augmentis Scientiarum* where he describes a biliteral cipher he invented in the intervals of his diplomatic leisure in Paris. Writing in cipher was a curious art then widely practised, and Bacon's early interest in it reveals the natural turn of his mind for the observation of signs, that is, facts, and their recombination into new relations. Distinctly scientific is the observation of an echo at Pont-Charenton, near Paris, which the young diplomat investigated and reports in *Sylva Sylvarum* (*Century* III. 249, 251). "And thereby I did hap to find that an echo would not return S, being but a hissing and an interior sound." The description was written many years later, but the boy's experiment had remained perfectly clear and fresh. He says he heard the echo

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“return the voice thirteen several times,” and describes it as “a tossing of the voice, as a ball, to and fro; like to reflections in looking-glasses.” Further on the *Sylva Sylvarum* (Century X. 986) gives a biographical note concerning the event which changed the whole course of Francis Bacon’s life. Writing on what he calls “the secret virtue of sympathy and antipathy,” now named telepathy, Bacon says,—

“I myself remember, that being in Paris, and my father dying in London, two or three days before my father’s death I had a dream, which I told to divers English gentlemen, that my father’s house in the country was plastered all over with black mortar.”

Sir Nicholas Bacon died February 20, 1579. Dr. Rawley’s statement of the situation in which Francis Bacon was left by his father’s sudden death is,—“In his absence in France his father the lord-keeper died, having collected (as I have heard of knowing persons) a considerable sum of money, which he had separated, with intention to have made a competent purchase of land for the livelihood of this his youngest son (who was only unprovided for; and though he was the youngest in years, yet he was not the lowest in his father’s affection); but the said purchase being unaccomplished at his father’s death, there came no greater share to him than his single part and portion of the money dividable amongst five brethren; by which means he lived in some straits and necessities in his younger years.” Anthony Bacon had been estab-

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lished at Redburn, Herts, near St. Albans, and the manor of Gorhambury went to him as the elder son, although Lady Bacon lived there until her death. Francis Bacon's legacy was a good name and a great intellect, which had been trained and cultivated by the best education to be had at that time. Diplomacy could not be pursued as a career without means, and a month after his father's death, Bacon returned to London. He was eighteen years old, and was dependent on his own exertions both for a living and for advancement in the public service. He took lodgings in Gray's Inn and resolutely applied himself to the study of the law. Later Anthony Bacon, back from some years of travel in France, Italy, and Spain, joined him, and the brothers, with little ready money between them, set up a coach, much to their frugal mother's dismay. She sends to her sons from Gorhambury home-brewed beer, fish, strawberries in season, and game, with accompanying letters full of motherly care and admonition. A letter to Anthony, dated, "Gorhambury, April 1, 1595," begins,—

"I send between your brother and you the first flight of my dove-house; the Lord be thanked for all: ii dozen and iiiii pigeons, xii to you, and xvi to your brother, because he was wont to love them better than you from a boy." Another letter to Anthony tells us what Bacon's habits as a student were,—“I verily think your brother's weak stomach to digest hath been much caused and confirmed by untimely going to bed, and then musing *nescio quid* when he should sleep, and then, in consequence, by

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late rising and long lying in bed, whereby his men are made slothful and himself continueth sickly.” (Gorhambury, 24 May, 1592.)

It may be that Francis Bacon burned the midnight oil, for he worked hard at his profession and he rose rapidly into notice. In 1584, at the age of twenty-three, he was elected to Parliament for Melcombe Regis; in 1586, he sat for Taunton. The “great year” ’88, the year of the Armada, made him member for Liverpool and Reader at Gray’s Inn. In all Bacon was elected to the House of Commons eight times and his Parliamentary career covered the thirty years between 1584 and 1614. As a member of the Lower House Bacon combined qualities very seldom found in the same person. He was a useful and able committee-man, a ready writer, and a good speaker. With rare good fortune there has come down to us the impression he made as a public speaker on his two great contemporaries, Sir Walter Raleigh and Ben Jonson. Dr. Rawley says,—“I will only set down what I heard Sir Walter Raleigh once speak of him by way of comparison (whose judgment may well be trusted), *That the Earl of Salisbury* [his cousin, Robert Cecil] *was an excellent speaker, but no good penman; that the Earl of Northampton (the Lord Henry Howard) was an excellent penman, but no good speaker; but that Sir Francis Bacon was eminent in both.*” Ben Jonson’s testimony to Bacon’s eloquence is itself nobly eloquent: In *Timber; or Discoveries made upon Men and Matter* (*Dominus Verulamius*), he writes,—“Yet there hapn’d, in my time, one noble

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Speaker, who was full of gravity in his speaking. His language, (where hee could spare, or passe by a jest) was nobly censorious. No man spake more neatly, more presly, more weightily, or suffer'd lesse emptinesse, lesse idlenesse, in what hee utter'd. No member of his speech but consisted of the owne graces. His hearers could not cough, or looke aside from him, without losse. Hee commanded where hee spoke, and had his Judges angry, and pleased at his devotion. No man had their affection more in his power. The feare of every man that heard him, was, lest hee should make an end."

That Bacon was not naturally a good speaker, but studiously labored to acquire a pleasing address, is clear from a note in a paper of counsels and rules drawn up for the guidance of his own conduct, and called in his ready Latin—*Custumae aptae ad Individuum*, 'Fit Habits for the Individual,' that individual being Francis Bacon,—
"To suppress at once my speaking, with panting and labour of breath and voice. Not to fall upon the main too sudden, but to induce and intermingle speech of good fashion."

The House of Commons was Bacon's school of life. It was there that he acquired his vast knowledge of men and affairs. He began almost at once the excellent practice of recording his experiences, summing up for himself his thoughts on the various matters of business that came before Parliament. The earliest of these state papers, with characteristic boldness, is a *Letter of Advice to Queen Elizabeth*, written at the close of 1584 or the beginning

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of 1585, on the difficult question of her policy towards the Roman Catholic interest. It is a remarkable paper to be produced by a young man of twenty-four. Though Protestant in tone the *Letter* is yet neither Puritan nor partisan in character. It is a broad, calm, judicial statement of what Bacon considered to be the position of the English Church three years before the Armada. In this paper and in another on the same subject four years later, *An Advertisement touching the Controversies of the Church of England* (1589), which is the essay *Of Unity in Religion* in germ, we see the future Lord Chancellor. The philosopher had already written the first sketch of his ideas on the new learning, calling it with the simple grandiloquence of youth, *Temporis Partus Maximus*, the 'Greatest Birth of Time.' It is certain that Bacon hoped to win advancement at Court by means of his state papers. It is equally certain that the Lord Treasurer Burghley did not appreciate the work of his nephew. He was indeed employed to prepare papers from time to time, but no preferment came. Burghley was a plain, practical man, immersed in complicated affairs of state. It is possible, as has been suggested, that he quietly opposed the advancement of Francis Bacon in order to keep the pathway open for his son, Robert Cecil, a man of moderate ability only. It may be, Machiavellian as he was, that he recognized from the first the pliability of his nephew and declined to trust him with political business. Without a doubt, Bacon's literary and philosophical aims were to him but the

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visions of a youthful enthusiast. After years of hope deferred, at an age which he describes as "somewhat ancient, one and thirty years," Bacon wrote the famous letter to Lord Burghley, setting forth his claims with dignity and appealing for help in the furtherance of his ambition,—

"My Lord,—With as much confidence as mine own honest and faithful devotion unto your service and your honourable correspondence unto me and my poor estate can breed in a man, do I commend myself unto your Lordship. I wax now somewhat ancient: one and thirty years is a great deal of sand in the hour-glass. My health, I thank God, I find confirmed; and I do not fear that action shall impair it, because I account my ordinary course of study and meditation to be more painful than most parts of action are. I ever bare in mind (in some middle place that I could discharge) to serve her Majesty, not as a man born under Sol, that loveth honour, nor under Jupiter, that loveth business (for the contemplative planet carrieth me away wholly), but as a man born under an excellent sovereign that deserveth the dedication of all men's abilities. Besides I do not find in myself so much self-love, but that the greater parts of my thoughts are to deserve well (if I be able) of my friends, and namely of your Lordship; who, being the Atlas of this commonwealth, the honour of my house, and the second founder of my poor estate, I am tied by all duties, both of a good patriot, and of an unworthy kinsman, and of an obliged servant, to employ whatsoever I am to do you service. Again,

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the meanness of my estate doth somewhat move me ; for though I cannot accuse myself that I am either prodigal or slothful, yet my health is not to spend, nor my course to get. Lastly, I confess that I have as vast contemplative ends as I have moderate civil ends ; for I have taken all knowledge to be my province ; and if I could purge it of two sorts of rovers, whereof the one with frivolous disputations, confutations, and verbosities, the other with blind experiments and auricular traditions and impostures, hath committed so many spoils, I hope I should bring in industrious observations, grounded conclusions, and profitable inventions and discoveries : the best state of that province. This, whether it be curiosity or vainglory, or nature, or (if one take it favourably) *philanthropia*. is so fixed in my mind as it cannot be removed. And I do easily see, that place of any reasonable countenance doth bring commandment of more wits than a man's own ; which is the thing I greatly affect. And for your Lordship, perhaps you shall not find more strength and less encounter in any other. And if your Lordship shall find now, or at any time, that I do seek or affect any place whereunto any that is nearer unto your Lordship shall be concurrent, say then that I am a most dishonest man. And if your Lordship will not carry me on, I will not do as Anaxagoras did, who reduced himself with contemplation unto voluntary poverty, but this I will do—I will sell the inheritance I have, and purchase some lease of quick revenue, or some office of gain that shall be executed by deputy, and so give over all care of

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service, and become some sorry book-maker, or a true pioneer in that mine of truth which (he said) lay so deep. This which I have writ unto your Lordship is rather thoughts than words, being set down without all art, disguising, or reservation. Wherein I have done honour both to your Lordship's wisdom, in judging that that will be best believed of your Lordship which is truest, and to your Lordship's good nature, in retaining no thing from you. And even so I wish your Lordship all happiness, and to myself means and occasions to be added to my faithful desire to do you service. From my lodgings at Gray's Inn." (1592.)

This letter has often been quoted. It ought always to be quoted in a life of Francis Bacon, for it is a clear and definite outline of his plans for his own career, and it helps to explain his character. He proposed to devote himself to a life of study, he wished to make the results of that study useful to his fellow-men, and he thought that place and power would give him "the vantage ground of truth (a hill not to be commanded, and where the air is always clear and serene)." In splendid promise and splendid achievement, nothing in literary history can be compared with the statement,— "I have taken all knowledge to be my province." Keats, writing on a far more limited theme, has expressed in imperishable verse what Bacon goes on to say had become the fixed idea of his mind,—

"Then felt I like some watcher of the skies
When a new planet swims into his ken;
Or like stout Cortez when with eagle eyes

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He stared at the Pacific—and all his men
Look'd at each other with a wild surmise—
Silent, upon a peak in Darien."

Lord Burghley did nothing—but preserve the letter. He probably thought it extravagant and hyperbolical. Bacon, undaunted, struggled on, keeping up his political interests, keeping up what he describes as his "ordinary course of study and meditation," and going somewhat more into Court society in the wake of his brother Anthony, who was living with him in Gray's Inn.

To this period belongs the beginning of Bacon's intimacy with the Earl of Essex, who took both brothers into his service, Anthony as his secretary and Francis as his lawyer and man of political affairs. The social character of the early association of the three young men—Essex was the youngest—is indicated by three *jeux d'esprit* from Francis Bacon's pen, his early masques or 'devices.' Two of these were 'triumphs' offered by the Earl of Essex to the Queen, one in November, 1592, and the other in 1595; the third was a Gray's Inn revel of 1594. Bacon furnished the 'discourses,' or texts, and the essay *Of Masques and Triumphs* grew out of this practical experience of the stage. It is interesting if only as showing that when Bacon turned his mind to what he calls 'toys,' they are no longer toys. What he has to say about dramatic representation accompanied by music and color exhibits a lively fancy and good taste, while the discourses display the same qualities of style as his more serious writings, thought, wit, and fresh

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imagery. One of the discourses of the 'device' of 1592, he shortly afterwards enlarged into an argumentative defence of the Queen's government.

The Earl of Essex was at the height of his power and influence at Court during these years when the Queen graciously permitted him to entertain her now and then with a masque. More than any other Elizabethan nobleman, Essex seemed to possess the qualities then considered necessary in the perfect courtier. He was of noble birth; he had a handsome face and manly bearing; his manners were winning; he was generous, gallant, and brave. He was also impulsive, headstrong, jealous, and imperious. But if he had not been endowed with the more serious and sober qualities of an able man, his relations to Bacon could not have been what they were. He was the first person at Court to understand and appreciate the great intellect and ready wit of Bacon. He used his influence with the Queen to urge the advancement of his political secretary. But he was soon to learn that even as the reigning favorite he was not all-powerful at Elizabeth's Court. She made a sharp distinction between business and pleasure, and the Cecils, father and son, controlled the business of her government.

In 1593, a vacancy was about to occur in the office of Attorney-General. Bacon fixed his eye on the place and Essex encouraged his candidacy. The Cecils thought him too young and inexperienced for so important a post, and proposed to promote the Solicitor-General, Sir Edward Coke. The Queen

agreed with them, though she dallied with Essex, and kept both Bacon and Coke in suspense throughout the year. Finally, in April, 1594, Sir Edward Coke was named Attorney-General. Bacon was much depressed, and spoke of retiring to Cambridge to spend his life in "studies and contemplations, without looking back." Coke's advancement left the post of Solicitor-General vacant, and Essex at once renewed his importunities for the Solicitor-Generalship for his friend. It was now clear that the Queen doubted Bacon's legal capacity for either of the offices he desired. She told Essex that Bacon had "a great wit and an excellent gift of speech, and much other good learning, but that in law she rather thought he could show to the uttermost than that he was deep." Another delay of more than a year and a half followed. During this year, Bacon visited Cambridge, where, July 27, 1594, he received the honorary degree of Master of Arts. Essex, with less discretion than zeal, thought to hasten matters by acquainting the Queen with Bacon's threat of retirement. We read what followed in a letter from Bacon to his brother Anthony. Bacon was summoned to the Court, where he had an interview, not with Queen Elizabeth, but with his cousin, Sir Robert Cecil. The Queen was angry, Cecil said, that he should have presumed to hasten her decision in any way. "Then Her Majesty sweareth that if I continue in this manner she will seek all England for a solicitor rather than take me; that she never dealt so, with any one as with me; that she hath pulled me over the bar

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(note the words, for they cannot be her own). We parted in kindness *secundum exterius*." Essex never had any real political power, and by his impetuosity and lack of judgment, what Bacon called his "fatal impatience," he really injured Bacon more than he helped him. He was conscious of this himself, for he wrote to his friend,—“The Queen was not passionate against you, until she found I was passionate for you.” She passed over Bacon a second time, and appointed the Recorder of London, Thomas Fleming, Solicitor-General, November 5, 1595. Bacon's letter, just quoted, shows that he attributed his failure, not to Essex, but to Sir Robert Cecil. Many years later, upon sending to the Duke of Buckingham the patent creating him a viscount, he wrote,—“In the time of the Cecils, the father and son, able men were by design and of purpose suppressed.”

Bacon retired to Essex's villa at Twickenham, whence he wrote to Fulke Greville,—“I have been like a piece of stuff bespoke in the shop; and if Her Majesty will not take me, it may be the selling by parcels will be more gainful. For to be, as I told you, like a child following a bird, which when he is nearest flieth away and lighteth a little before, and then the child is after it again, and so *in infinitum*, I am weary of it.”

Attendance upon Court was an expensive way of life, and both Anthony and Francis Bacon lived beyond their means. “I am sorry,” Lady Anne Bacon wrote to Anthony, “your brother and you charge yourselves with superfluous horses. The

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wise will but laugh at you both; being but trouble, besides your debts, long journeys, and private persons. Earls be earls." (September 7, 1594.) Essex generously offered to relieve Bacon's financial straits. "You shall not deny to accept a piece of land which I will bestow upon you." Bacon demurred, but in the outcome he accepted an estate from Essex which he afterwards sold for £1800. His letter of acceptance is of importance in explaining his relations with Essex, because it shows that even at this time Bacon foresaw that he might have to choose between his friendship for Essex and his loyalty to the Queen's government. "My Lord," he said, "I see I must be your homager and hold land of your gift: but do you know the manner of doing homage in law? Always it is with a saving of his faith to the King and his other Lords: and therefore, my Lord (said I), I can be no more yours than I was, and it must be with the ancient savings."

In the summer of 1596, the Earl of Essex commanded the land forces in the expedition against Cadiz, the most brilliant military exploit of Elizabeth's reign. But the capture of Cadiz added nothing to Essex's reputation as a soldier. Rather it proved clearly what Elizabeth and Cecil and Bacon had all along thought, that Essex was impossible as a military leader. He was indeed brave and daring, but he was impatient of advice, he exceeded his instructions, and he was so jealous of his subordinate officers that he could not get on with any of them. His enemies at Court had not been idle during his

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absence from England, and when the results of the taking of Cadiz turned out to be inconsiderable, the favor of the Queen towards him began perceptibly to wane. Bacon's first extant letter of political advice is dated October 4, 1596. In it he advised Essex to give up his military ambition, to try to remove the common impression that he was opinionative, to disguise his feelings, and to "win the Queen." It was the cautious, worldly-wise admonition of a friend who knew well both the Court and the young Earl. But it was not in Essex's nature to be wary. He steadily overestimated his influence with the Queen and constantly thwarted her will. "I ever set this down," Bacon wrote later in his *Apology*, "that the only course to be held with the Queen, was by obsequiousness and observance. . . . My Lord on the other hand had a settled opinion that the Queen could be brought to nothing but by a kind of necessity and authority." The breach between the friends widened during the year 1597.

Bacon meantime had been made one of the Queen's Counsel Extraordinary, as we learn from a lease of sixty acres of land in Zelwood Forest, Somerset, which was granted to him July 14, 1596. Very early in 1597, Bacon published his first book, the *Essays*, ten only, bound with two other works, his *Meditationes Sacrae* and *Of the Colours of Good and Evil*. The dedication is to "his deare Brother," Anthony Bacon.

The ninth Parliament of Elizabeth, which met October 24, 1597, was the one in which Bacon sat for

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Ipswich and had six members of his own family as colleagues. His most important speech of this session was one "against depopulation of towns and houses of husbandry, and for the maintenance of husbandry and tillage," a subject which he expanded afterwards in the essay, *Of the True Greatness of Kingdoms and Estates*.

During the summer of 1599, Essex made his disastrous campaign in Ireland. He had prevailed upon the Queen to send him to the island as Lord Lieutenant to put down the rebellion of the Earl of Tyrone. Far from conquering Tyrone, between March and September he managed to lose some £300,000 and ten or twelve thousand men. Essex's enemies about the Queen, Sir Robert Cecil, Sir Walter Raleigh, and the Earl of Nottingham, had rather favored his absence from Court, and they took pains to keep Elizabeth informed of the failure of the most expensive enterprise she had ever undertaken. It was even said that Essex did not mean to do anything in Ireland, but was using his authority there to intrigue with Tyrone and with James VI of Scotland for his own aggrandizement. Elizabeth let Essex know of her dissatisfaction with the campaign, required an explanation, and forbade him to return without orders. In spite of this express command, Essex conceived the extraordinary idea of abandoning his post and hastening to England to throw himself at the feet of the Queen. Elizabeth was at her palace of Nonesuch, and there, on the 28th of September, as we read in one of the *Sidney Letters*,—

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“Without stopping to change his dress, travel-stained as he was, he sought the Queen in her chamber, and found her newly-risen, with her hair about her face. He kneeled to her and kissed her hands. Elizabeth, taken by surprise, gave way to her old partiality for him, and the pleasure she always had in his company. He left her presence much pleased with her reception, and thanked God, though he had suffered much trouble and storm abroad, that he had found a sweet calm at home.”

The next day the Earl of Essex was ordered into the custody of the Lord Keeper Egerton, at York House. After several months' delay, Essex was brought before a special commission at York House, June 5, 1600. Bacon as one of the Queen's counsel took a minor part in the prosecution. Essex was acquitted of disloyalty, but found guilty of disobedience in neglecting his orders and deserting his command. He was sentenced to be suspended from all his offices and to be imprisoned in his own house during the Queen's pleasure. Bacon by the Queen's order drew up an account of the proceedings of the Privy Council in the case. When he read this paper to her for criticism, he had touched so lightly upon Essex's offences in one passage that Elizabeth smiled, and said “she perceived old love could not easily be forgotten.” Bacon's quick wit at once turned the expression back upon her. “Whereupon I answered suddenly, that I hoped she meant that by herself.”

In a short time Essex was released from sequestration, but was forbidden to come to Court. The

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restraint of his position, free, but still under a cloud, was peculiarly galling to a man of Essex's high spirit. Bacon counselled patience, but Bacon at this time was occupying an impossible position between an old friend whom he had just helped to prosecute and the Queen who suspected everybody in the Essex connection. Elizabeth had no intention of restoring Essex to favor, as she took occasion to show when his patent for the monopoly of sweet wines expired a few months after his dismissal from Court. He petitioned for a renewal of the lease, and received the ungracious answer,—“No, an unruly beast must be stinted of his provender.”

The Earl of Essex, out of favor completely and nursing his grievances, was soon surrounded with other disaffected men who made Essex House a centre of conspiracy against the government. These gatherings were watched by the Court, and on Saturday, February 7, 1601, Essex was summoned before the Privy Council. He refused to attend. That same night there was a performance of “the deposing and killing of King Richard the Second,” possibly Shakspeare's tragedy, at the Globe Theatre. It developed at Essex's trial that his friends had paid the actors forty shillings to present this particular play that night, in the hope that the sight of the deposition of the king on the stage might stir up the populace. The next day, Sunday, the Earl of Essex, with some two hundred followers, made his abortive attempt to raise the city. He rode through London crying out that his life was in danger and

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the country sold to Spain. The Queen's forces easily quelled the rising, and within twelve hours Essex was a prisoner in the Tower, charged with high treason.

On February 19, the Earls of Essex and Southampton were arraigned together. The Attorney-General, Sir Edward Coke, conducted the prosecution, and Bacon appeared with him as Queen's counsel. Essex's defence was that he had taken up arms not to overturn the government, but to protect his own life. Bacon spoke twice during the trial, interposing both times to recall the court to the main issue against Essex, and to show that his defence of a private grievance was a pretext invented by him at the eleventh hour. Essex's answer to one of these speeches is a sufficient reply to those who say he spoke no word of reproach to Bacon,—

“To answer Mr. Bacon's speech at once, I say thus much; and call forth Mr. Bacon against Mr. Bacon. You are then to know that Mr. Francis Bacon hath written two letters, the one of which hath been artificially framed in my name, after he had framed the other in Mr. Anthony Bacon's name to provoke me. In the latter of these two he lays down the grounds of my discontentment, and the reasons I pretend against my enemies, pleading as orderly for me as I could do myself. . . . If those reasons were then just and true, not counterfeit, how can it be that now my pretences are false and injurious? For then Mr. Bacon joined with me in mine opinion, and pointed out those to be mine en-

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emies, and to hold me in disgrace with Her Majesty, whom he seems now to clear of such mind towards me; and, therefore, I leave the truth of what I say, and he opposeth, unto your Lordship's indifferent considerations."

Bacon did not produce the two letters, or offer to produce them, although they must have been in his possession, for in his *Apology* he prints them both, claiming that he manufactured the fictitious correspondence between his brother and Essex solely to bring about a reconciliation between the Earl and the Queen.

The Earls of Essex and Southampton were convicted and condemned to death, but Essex only was executed. After the execution Bacon was employed as before to write an account of Essex's offences, and did so in a paper called, *A Declaration of the Practises and Treasons attempted and committed by Robert late Earle of Essex and his Complices, against her Maiestie and her Kingdom*, etc. (1601). For his services, Bacon received £1200, from the fine of Catesby, one of the accomplices of Essex. "The Queen hath done something for me," he wrote to a creditor, "though not in the proportion I had hoped."

Bacon's conduct towards Essex has been a fruitful subject of controversy. Some of his biographers find no fault with it, while others see writ large in the circumstance an insensibility to nice moral distinctions that led later to his downfall. The Earl of Essex had committed treason, and according to the standard of justice in that age he deserved

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death. It was Bacon's duty as a loyal citizen to abhor the crime. But condemnation of the crime is a very different thing from taking part in the prosecution and helping to bring an old friend to the block. That contemporary opinion did not approve of Bacon's course is clear from the testimony of Bacon himself. Even before Essex's affairs had reached their climax, he said one day to the Queen in a burst of "passion" very unusual for him, "A great many love me not, because they think I have been against my Lord of Essex; and you love me not, because you know I have been for him." And either he smarted under the censure of public opinion, or his conscience twitted him, for when both Elizabeth and Essex were dead, and there could be no answer to his statements, he wrote his *Apology in Certain Imputations concerning the late Earl of Essex* (1604).

If Bacon hoped to win advancement by acting as an unsworn counsel of the Queen against the Earl of Essex, he was disappointed, for there was no change in his political circumstances during the life of Queen Elizabeth. His material circumstances were improved in 1601 by the death of his brother Anthony, to whom he was probably more sincerely attached than to any other person.

With the accession of James I, Bacon's position began to mend. In August, 1604, his office as one of the learned counsel was confirmed, and for the first time a salary of £60 a year was attached to it. One of the first acts of sovereignty of James I was the conferring of knighthood on a mob of gentlemen at

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so many pounds a head. George Chapman and John Marston for ridiculing "my thirty-pound knights" in *Eastward Hoe*, were thrown into prison, in 1605, whereupon Ben Jonson valiantly walked into prison to share their punishment. Francis Bacon, writing to Sir Robert Cecil, July 3, 1603, expresses three several reasons for desiring one of those purchasable baronetcies,—

"Lastly, for this divulged and almost prostituted title of knighthood, I could without charge, by your Honour's mean, be content to have it, both because of this late disgrace, and because I have three new knights in my mess in Gray's Inn's commons; and because I have found out an alderman's daughter, an handsome maiden to my liking." A second letter, a fortnight later, begged that he might receive the honor in some such manner as would confer real distinction, and "not be merely gregarious in a troop." He was duly knighted two days before the coronation, July 23, 1603, but he had to share the honor with three hundred other gentlemen. In the autumn of 1605 appeared *The Two Books of Francis Bacon, Of the Proficience and Advancement of Learning*.

On the 11th of May, 1606, Sir Dudley Carleton wrote to John Chamberlain,—

"Sir Francis Bacon was married yesterday to his young wench in Maribone Chapel. He was clad from top to toe in purple, and hath made himself and his wife such store of fine raiments of cloth of silver and gold that it draws deep into her portion."

Sir Francis Bacon's wife was Alice Barnham,

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daughter of Benedict Barnham, a merchant who had been both alderman and sheriff of London.

Meantime Sir Francis Bacon kept his application for the post of Solicitor-General well before the Court of the new King. If the indifference of his cousin, Sir Robert Cecil, now Earl of Salisbury, and the ill-will of Sir Edward Coke, his legal rival, doomed him ever to new disappointment, Cecil and Coke at least found in Bacon a persistence worthy of a better cause than office-seeking. Elizabeth Bacon, his half-sister, had made a third marriage with Sir William Periam, Chief Baron of the Exchequer. Sir William Periam died in 1604, and was succeeded as Chief Baron by the Solicitor-General, Sir Thomas Fleming. Bacon hoped to get the vacant Solicitor-Generalship, but it went for a second time over his head and was given to Sir John Doderidge. A third set-back followed two years later. In 1606, Sir Edward Coke was made Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas. It had been the custom under Queen Elizabeth to promote the Solicitor-General to the office of Attorney-General in case of its vacancy, but it suited King James to select Sir Henry Hobart for Attorney-General to succeed Coke, thus avoiding a vacancy in the Solicitor-Generalship. A year later Sir John Doderidge was promoted out of the way, and at last, "silently, on the 25th of June," 1607, Sir Francis Bacon was appointed Solicitor-General. He was forty-seven years old and had been applying for the position for fourteen years.

With an assured official income and the private

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means he had acquired as his brother's heir, Bacon was for the first time relieved from pressing pecuniary anxieties. He was free to devote what leisure he could secure to those "vast contemplative ends" which in his better moments he always regarded as his real interest in life. Now, too, he reaped the rich harvest of the long years of his unpaid apprenticeship. Queen Elizabeth had thought him a theorist in the law, and had caused him to serve twice seven years roving afield in practice. The result was that when Sir Francis Bacon became Solicitor-General, he brought to the discharge of his duties such a wealth of knowledge of the law, in both theory and practice, as none of his predecessors were able to approach, and some of them had been very able lawyers. At the same time, and this fact is often not even mentioned by Francis Bacon's biographers, at the same time, through repeated disappointments, through insecure health, through anxiety, through loneliness, through calumny, this extraordinary man had kept up his studies and meditations. They were carried on as we know in hours stolen from sleep, between sessions of Parliament, during the few holidays of a busy life, and always under physical difficulties, for the essay *Of Regiment of Health* reflects Bacon's personal experience in managing a mind too active for the body it inhabited. Bacon came into his own late in life, but when success found him, his rise was rapid. Within ten years after obtaining the Solicitor-Generalship, he had reached the top of his profession as Lord Chancellor; within twenty years

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he had published the books which have made his fame "a possession forever" wherever the English language and literature shall spread.

In 1613, by the death of Sir Thomas Fleming and the promotions of Sir Edward Coke and Sir Henry Hobart, Sir Francis Bacon succeeded Hobart as Attorney-General. In 1616, he was made a Privy Councillor; nine months later, March 7, 1617, the Great Seal was delivered into his hands and he had followed his father as Lord Keeper; nine months later still, January 4, 1618, he became Lord Chancellor, and in July following was created Baron Verulam; January 27, 1621, the still higher title of Viscount St. Alban was conferred upon him.

During these years Bacon wrote much. To the year 1609 belongs the treatise *De Sapientia Veterum*, or *Of the Wisdom of the Ancients*, which he describes in the preface as a recreation from severer studies. It is a collection of thirty-one classical myths, each with a second title in English, often one word only, giving Bacon's interpretation of the myth; for example, *Perseus*; or *War*, *Sphinx*; or *Science*. The stories are remarkably well told, and should be better known than they are. In 1612, the second edition of the *Essays*, now enlarged from ten to thirty-eight, was published. Bacon's mother, Lady Anne Cooke Bacon, died in the interval between these two works, in August, 1610. Two masques belonging to this period tell us what was happening to him of a less grave nature. The Princess Elizabeth was married to the Elector Palatine, February 4, 1613, and the gentlemen of Gray's Inn

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and the Inner Temple gave a masque in honor of the event, called *The Marriage of the Thames and the Rhine*. Francis Beaumont was the author and Sir Francis Bacon the "chief contriver." On January 6, 1614, the gentlemen of Gray's Inn presented *The Masque of Flowers*, in celebration of the marriage of Robert Carr, Earl of Somerset, with Lady Frances Howard, the divorced wife of Essex's son, Robert Devereux, third Earl of Essex. Sir Francis Bacon, the new Attorney-General, was the "chief encourager" of this masque, which is said to have cost him £2000.

All this while, during more than thirty years, the great philosophical work of Bacon's life was going on, getting itself written in sketches and treatises, under different subjects, and in separate parts, as time permitted. He had called it as a mere boy *Temporis Partus Maximus*, '*The Greatest Birth of Time*.' About 1607, the title *Instauratio Magna*, that is, '*Great Restoration*' appears. When the work finally saw the light in October, 1620, still incomplete, it bore the name *Novum Organum*, or '*New Organ*.'

Within six months after the publication of the *Novum Organum*, Francis Bacon was overwhelmed in the appalling catastrophe which deprived him at one stroke of position, power, and good fame. He had been created Viscount St. Alban, January 27, 1621. On January 30 Parliament met. Five days later Sir Edward Coke, Bacon's life-long rival, moved that a committee be appointed to inquire into public grievances. Two committees were

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named, to investigate monopolies and to report on the administration of the courts of justice. This latter committee reported to the House of Commons, March 15, that the Lord Chancellor was guilty of corruption in office, and cited two cases of bribery as proof. Bacon fell ill, and sat in the House of Lords for the last time on March 17. He wrote to the Duke of Buckingham, he had an interview with the King, but he was only referred back to the Commons. By the middle of April the two original charges had increased to twenty-three. At first Bacon was inclined to meet the charges against him and to defend his honor, but his judgment wavered from day to day. He wrote to the King, April 20, asking for the charges in particular. The next day, April 21, it occurred to him that he might weather the "tempest that had come upon him" by a general submission, and he wrote again,—"I assure myself that if it be reformation that be sought, the very taking away the Seal, upon my general submission, will be as much an example for these four hundred years as any further severity." On the following day, April 22, he sent a letter to the Lords, entitled, *The Humble Submission and Supplication of the Lord Chancellor*, in which he said,—“I do ingenuously confess and acknowledge that, having understood the particulars of the charge, not formally from the House, but enough to inform my conscience and memory, I find matter sufficient and full, both to move me to desert the defence, and to move your Lordships to condemn and censure me.” The

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Lords were puzzled by Bacon's change of front, from demanding particulars to a general confession of guilt, when as yet the charges had neither been read in full committee, nor formally laid before the accused Lord Chancellor. The Earl of Southampton, whom Bacon had assisted in condemning to death with Essex, voiced the opinion of the peers when he said,—“He is charged by the Commons with corruption; and no word of confession of any corruption in his submission. It stands with the justice and honour of this House not to proceed without the parties' particular confession; or to have the parties hear the charge, and we to hear the parties' answer.”

The Lords voted to spare the Lord Chancellor the indignity of being brought to the bar to be confronted with the charges, but they sent him a “collection of corruptions,” with the message that they expected “his answer to the same with all convenient expedition.” Bacon replied, April 30, with a full confession. It reads in part,—

“To the Right Honorable the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in the High Court of Parliament Assembled.

“The Confession and Humble Submission of me, Lord Chancellor:—

“Upon advised consideration of the charge, descending into my own conscience, and calling my memory to account so far as I am able, I do plainly and ingenuously confess that I am guilty of corruption, and do renounce all defence.”

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Nothing was left to do but to pronounce judgment. Bacon was summoned before the House of Lords May 3 to receive sentence, but he was too ill to appear. It was voted unanimously that the Lord Chancellor Bacon should pay a fine of £40,000; that he should be forever incapable of holding office, or of sitting in Parliament; that he should be imprisoned in the Tower during the King's pleasure; and that he should not come within the verge of the Court, that is, within a range of twelve miles round the King's residence in London. By a majority of two he was allowed to retain his titles. On the 31st of May Bacon was imprisoned in the Tower, and wrote the same day to Buckingham begging for a warrant for his release. In this letter, in the same sentence in which he acknowledged "the sentence just, and for reformation sake fit," he declared that he was "the justest Chancellor that hath been in the five changes since Sir Nicholas Bacon's time." The King ordered Bacon's release at once, as we learn from a letter of thanks to Buckingham, dated June 4. Subsequently the fine was remitted by transferring it from the King to persons named by Bacon, in trust for Bacon. The rest of the sentence stood, except that in about a year he was allowed to return to London.

It had been a rise to vast power and influence. It was a fall full of shame and ignominy. Bacon was too great a man, however, not to be great still even in disgrace. He retired to Gorhambury, and there for the remaining five years of his life he

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occupied himself with literary pursuits. During the first summer of his enforced retirement to private life, he composed his *Historie of the Raigne of King Henry the Seventh*. In 1623, he published the Latin version of the *Advancement of Learning*, now issued in nine books with the title *De Augmentis Scientiarum*. The poet George Herbert is said to have helped him with the translation. His *Apophthegmes New and Old*, 1624, can only be said to have been the occupation of a morning in the sense that he may have arranged the order of the stories in one morning. The last three years of Bacon's life were spent in writing his *Sylva Sylvarum: or A Natural History*, and in editing the third and final edition of the *Essays*. This edition, published in March, 1625, contains the fifty-eight essays of all subsequent editions, and was entitled *Essayes or Counsels, Civill and Morall*. The book was dedicated to the Duke of Buckingham. To us who have received the great inheritance of the English language, it seems very curious that Bacon should write in the dedication, nine years after the death of Shakspeare,—“For I do conceive that the Latin volume of them (being in the universal language) may last as long as books last.” The Latin translation of Bacon's *Essays* was first published in 1638 by his chaplain, Dr. William Rawley, among the *Opera Moralia et Civilia*, and with the title *Sermones Fideles sive Interiora Rerum*. It is inferred that Bacon at least supervised the Latin translation, from the fact that he left this opinion as to its value, but it is now impossible to ascertain

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whether he himself was the translator of the whole or of any particular part of the work. Mr. Spedding thinks that Bacon was concerned in the revision of the essay, *Of Plantations*, if not in its careful translation. Two essays, *Of Prophecies* and *Of Masques and Triumphs*, have no Latin translation. The absence of translations of these two essays may mean, either that Bacon was his own translator and had not time to complete the whole series before his death, or that the work of supervising translations by other persons ceased with the death of the author.

The story of the death of Francis Bacon is familiar. It was the direct result of an experiment like those he describes in his *Natural History*. On a cold, raw day in early spring, April 2, 1626, as he was driving out of London, it occurred to him to find out whether a fowl stuffed with snow could be kept. He stopped and bought a hen from a woman by the roadside and stuffed it with snow himself. He was taken with a chill, and, unable to go home, he sought refuge in the house of the Earl of Arundel, at Highgate. His last letter, one of apology to Lord Arundel for his involuntary intrusion, shows that he knew his condition was serious, but that he did not expect the end. He says, —“I was like to have had the fortune of Caius Plinius the elder, who lost his life by trying an experiment about the burning of the mountain Vesuvius,” and adds, characteristically, “as for the experiment itself, it succeeded excellently well.” After an illness of a week only, Francis Ba-

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con died, early on Easter morning, April 9, 1626, of the disease now known as bronchitis. He was buried, as he had directed in his will, beside his mother, in St. Michael's Church, St. Albans, where a monument in white marble was erected to his memory by his former secretary, Sir Thomas Meautys. An effigy on the stone represents Bacon's "full portraiture in the posture of studying." In wide-brimmed hat and long official robe, with falling ruff, Bacon is seated in an arm-chair, his head resting on his left arm. The Latin inscription underneath was written by Sir Henry Wotton. The monument portrait is figured as the frontispiece to Part I of John Nicol's *Francis Bacon: His Life and Philosophy*.

Sir Thomas Meautys had married Anne Bacon, daughter of Bacon's half-brother, Sir Nathaniel Bacon. After her husband's death, Lady Meautys became the second wife of Sir Harbottle Grimston, Speaker of the House of Commons in the year of the Restoration. She had a life interest in the manor of Gorhambury, which Sir Harbottle Grimston made his principal country seat, and of which he bought the reversion. James Walter Grimston, third Earl of Verulam, descends from Sir Harbottle Grimston, so that Sir Nicholas Bacon's manor of Gorhambury passed through his granddaughter to the present owner.

Posterity is indebted to the Grimston family for the preservation of at least two of the five contemporary representations of what Francis Bacon looked like. There is at Gorhambury a set of three

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colored busts in *terra cotta* representing Sir Nicholas Bacon, Lady Anne Cooke Bacon, and their son Francis, as a boy of about twelve. The workmanship is Italian, and by the same hand, and of a high degree of artistic excellence. From the age of the boy the busts must have been made about the year 1572. The boy's bust is especially interesting, because seen beside the busts of his father and mother, it shows that Francis Bacon's likeness was to his mother. The frontispiece of Vol. XI of James Spedding's *The Works of Francis Bacon* is an engraving from a drawing of the bust of Bacon done in profile.

The next portrait is a miniature made by Nicholas Hilliard, in 1578, when Bacon was living in Paris in the household of Sir Amias Paulet, the English ambassador. Nicholas Hilliard is the artist of whom John Donne wrote in his poem, *The Storm*,—

“ a hand or eye
By Hilliard drawn is worth a history
By a coarse painter made.”

Mr. Spedding describes the Hilliard miniature as “a work of exquisite beauty and delicacy.” An engraving of it was made for Basil Montagu's, *The Works of Francis Bacon, Lord Chancellor of England*, 1825–1834, whose notice in *The Edinburgh Review*, for July, 1837, is T. B. Macaulay's celebrated essay on *Lord Bacon*. The Hilliard miniature was at that time in the possession of John Adair Hawkins.

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The Earl of Verulam owns a portrait of Bacon by the Dutch artist, Paul Van Somer. Mr. Spedding dates the picture 1618 or thereabout, after Bacon had been made Lord Chancellor and created Baron Verulam. Van Somer's work is more interesting for the details of the dress of the period than for character, and he gives Lord Chancellor Bacon a rather wooden and expressionless face. He is painted in his robe and wearing a hat. A second portrait at Gorhambury, without a hat, is there attributed to Van Somer. Mr. Spedding thinks it is not a Van Somer, but a copy of the other done by an inferior artist at some later period when the fashion of painting people with the head covered had gone out. The reputed Van Somer, with a very wooden face, is figured in Vol. II of John Nicol's *Francis Bacon: His Life and Philosophy*.

The frontispiece of Vol. I of James Spedding's edition of Bacon is an engraving after the old print of Simon Pass. This artist, whose name is variously spelled Pass, Van de Pas, or Passe, Passaeus, was one of the earliest copperplate engravers in England, having emigrated from the Netherlands to pursue his art in London. Mr. Spedding thought that he had "some reason to suspect" that Pass's engraving was made from a painting, now lost, by the Dutch artist, Cornelius Jannsen Van Ceulen. Whoever the artist, his work is much superior to that of Van Somer. He portrays a handsome man, well worthy to have developed out of the graceful youth of the Hilliard miniature and the beautiful boy of the Italian bust.

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Another portrait of Bacon, not mentioned by Spedding, is now in the National Portrait Gallery. A process print of it illustrates the article on *Francis Bacon*, at page 214 of Sidney Lee's *Great Englishmen of the Sixteenth Century*. The original is a second portrait of Bacon as Lord Chancellor by Paul Van Somer. As a work of art the picture seems to have more character and it is certainly more attractive than the Van Somer at Gorhambury.

In the effort to make a fair judgment of Bacon's moral character, Bacon himself is found to be at once his best advocate and worst accuser. He was inconsistent and he wielded a ready pen. An anecdote of the time relates that Bacon retired to Gorhambury while his trouble was upon him to try to recover there his disturbed health and harassed spirits. On the journey, the story says, Prince Charles returning from a hunt "espied a coach, attended with a goodly troop of horsemen, who, it seems, were gathered together to wait upon the Chancellor to his house at Gorhambury, at the time of his declension. At which the Prince smiled: 'Well, do what we can,' said he, 'this man scorns to go out like a snuff.' " But arrived at Gorhambury, Bacon made the first draft of his will, dated 10th April, 1621, and wrote "the majestic prayer to which Addison refers as more after the manner of an archangel than of a man." Majestic also, easily overtopping the language of all but the greatest of men, is the opening sentence of the will,—

"For my name and memory, I leave it to men's

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charitable speeches, and to foreign nations, and the next ages.”

The world has accepted Bacon’s own judgment of himself,—

“I was the justest judge that was in England these fifty years. But it was the justest censure of Parliament that was these two hundred years.”

Francis Bacon was a man of his time, and it was a time of gift-giving and gift-taking. He was ostentatious and lived always beyond his means. He kept a large retinue of servants and was too busy and too careless of detail to look to them closely. All this made him an easy prey to facility, which he describes as the fourth vice of authority, —“As for facility, it is worse than bribery; for bribes come but now and then; but if importunity or idle respects lead a man, he shall never be without.” *Of Great Place*. During the four years of Bacon’s Chancellorship he made some two thousand orders and decrees a year. Not one of these judgments was reversed, even in the twenty-three cases where bribery was charged. No case of proved injustice was brought forward in all that heat of prosecution, nor has historical research discovered any such case since. Bacon did not sell injustice. But the selling of justice, even through carelessness or time-serving, is intolerable. There is no freedom, except under the supremacy of law. The reign of law cannot be maintained by corrupt judges. By his own confession, Lord Chancellor Bacon was a corrupt judge. “The pity of it.”

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II

THE ESSAYS

THE Elizabethan age is the most creative period in English literature. The foreign wars in which the young Chaucer bore a part had ended in the abandonment of the English claim to the French crown. The civil Wars of the Roses had brought forward the Tudor family, who in Henry VII, Henry VIII, and Elizabeth, gave to the English nation three of the ablest rulers it has ever produced. By the marriage of one of the Tudors the Scottish king who had become heir to the English throne was to carry peace with him into England after three centuries of warfare on the northern border. For the first time Englishmen had leisure to devote their energies to other interests than war upon their neighbors. Fortunately, just at this time, the great wave of the Renaissance, the new birth of letters, having spent itself in Italy and crossed France and Spain, reached the shores of England. There it was eagerly welcomed by men, who, if they had not the poise and mental reach of the Italians of the Renaissance, or the gayety and sense of form of their French contemporaries, had yet more daring and more intellectual curiosity. The same spirit of adventure that carried Sir Francis Drake around the globe induced the Elizabethans to try all sorts of new forms in literature. Shakspeare would not be "our myriad-minded

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Shakspeare," as Coleridge called him, if he had not best expressed the thought of a myriad-minded age. Most of the new literary forms were first made known to the Elizabethans by translations from the Italian and French. Sir Thomas Wyatt translated Italian songs and sonnets and presages a burst of lyric music from that "nest of singing-birds," the poets and dramatists of Elizabeth's time. William Painter translated novels from Boccaccio and Queen Marguerite, and Robert Greene composed original tales after their manner. Translations of Machiavelli and Comines taught men how to write history, and Sir Walter Raleigh, ending his days in imprisonment, wrote the *History of the World* in the Tower. Richard Hakluyt's *Principall Navigations*, "the great Elizabethan bible of adventure," largely translated from the journals of Italian, Spanish, and Portuguese navigators, is the beginning of that splendid series of stories of voyage and discovery and peaceable conquest by Englishmen which is unsurpassed in the literature of any nation. Sir Philip Sidney, an Italianated Englishman of the noblest type, inaugurates English criticism in *The Defence of Poesie*. With Francis Bacon begins philosophical reflection upon life, in the style of Plutarch's *Morals* and the *Essais* of Montaigne. Bacon's mind was catholic in its range like Plutarch's, but the subjects of moral thought that interest him are comparatively few, because generalized. His treatment of a moral subject is more scientific also than that of the classical writer, more scientific than

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himself even when writing on a strictly scientific theme. In the *Sylva Sylvarum: or A Natural History*, for example, Bacon brings together a great many facts about nature, which he calls "experiments," some of them observations of real value, while others must have been trivial even to himself. In the *Essayes or Counsels, Civill and Morall*, the method is ever to reduce reflection to its lowest terms, to try to discover the fundamental principles of conduct that influence the actions of men. Again, Bacon has nothing of the attractive personality of Montaigne, a man of the world who made a point of finding out what the world was like from all sorts and conditions of men, from the king on his throne to the groom of his riding-horse. Montaigne writes on and on about a subject in breezy discursiveness, like a man on horseback traversing an interesting country. Bacon's *Essays* reflect his experience of life, but they tell us little or nothing of his personal likes and dislikes. They are austere, brief to the point of crudeness, they smell of the lamp.

Bacon's own judgment of his *Essays*, as we know from the dedicatory epistle prefixed to the third edition, was that they might last as long as books last. In the essay, *Of Innovations*, he says, "Time is the greatest innovator." The most obvious division of the *Essays* is that which time has made. Certain essays do "come home to men's business and bosoms" in a universal way. They appeal to all men at all times. They discourse of great subjects in the grand manner. The essays, *Of Truth, Of*

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Death, Of Great Place, might have been written by Aristotle, and what is said in these and other essays of like character is as true to-day as when Bacon lived. Another type of essay is distinctly limited, partly by Bacon's own character and partly by the social characteristics of his time. The essay *Of Friendship* grew out of Bacon's longest and most disinterested friendship, but no man can write an adequate essay on this noble theme, and yet say, as Bacon did in *Of Followers and Friends*, "There is little friendship in the world, and least of all between equals, which was wont to be magnified. That that is, is between superior and inferior, whose fortunes may comprehend the one the other." A thought like that puts friendship on the low plane of a paying basis. That Bacon could utter it has tarnished his fame with the charge of treachery towards Essex. The essays, *Of Love*, and *Of Marriage and Single Life*, were the product of a social condition in which passion did not necessarily enter into the marriage relation, and marriage itself was an affair to be arranged between parties suitably situated. It was a man's world, and it is impossible to judge it fairly now, because in the modern world the advancement of woman has revolutionized the older ideas of domestic relations. Essayists of Bacon's mental characteristics will still write on love and marriage, but their treatment of these themes must inevitably be broader and deeper, because it has been spiritualized. It is juster, because it recognizes the mutual obligations of men and women.

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When Emerson talks about *Friendship* and *Love* we are in another world than Bacon's. Emerson opens his essay on *Domestic Life* with impassioned tenderness for the child in the house. There are no children in Bacon's world and the few children in Shakspeare's plays are all sharp of wit, precocious beyond their years. They are the children of his brain, not little people he had lived with. Some eight or ten of Bacon's essays have become obsolete in thought. They are those which grew out of his experience of life at the Courts of Elizabeth and James I, of the petty rivalries and intrigues which led him to believe and to say, "All rising to great place is by a winding stair." Bacon's "winding stair" to the Lord Chancellorship runs through the essays, *Of Simulation and Dissimulation*, *Of Delays*, *Of Cunning*, *Of Wisdom for a Man's Self*, *Of Dispatch*, *Of Suspicion*, *Of Negotiating*, and *Of Followers and Friends*. Fancy Emerson writing an essay on cunning! It is not that dissimulation and cunning no longer exist in the world, but that the intellectual appeal of such subjects is now restricted to their kind. Like drunkenness, dissimulation has descended in the social scale.

When we recall that the composition of his *Essays* occupied Bacon's thought for the space of more than thirty years, it is curious that he nowhere alludes to any English contemporary by name, except Queen Elizabeth, and that after her death. But between the lines Bacon has left on record the characters of three men who crossed his path.

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From the singularly intimate private diary which he called *Commentarius Solutus*, we know that the essay *Of Seeming Wise* is a portrait of Sir Henry Hobart, who by securing the appointment of Attorney-General, in 1606, effectually barred Bacon's way to that position for seven years. Bacon bitterly resented being passed over, and jotted now in his notes a series of epigrams on "Hubbard's disadvantages" which seem to have developed into this essay, in which Attorney-General Hobart represents as type the weak man who is made to believe himself wondrous wise. The essay *Of Deformity*, at the time of its publication, was said to be a portrait to the life of Bacon's cousin, Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, who may be also in mind in the essays *Of Envy* and *Of Cunning*. Cecil's stature of scarce five feet was produced by curvature of the spine. He was so small that Elizabeth called him "little man" or "little elf." James I addressed him as "pygmy" or even "little beagle." The fine essay *Of Judicature* is the substance of a charge to Sir Richard Hutton, on his being raised to the bench of the Court of Common Pleas, 3d May, 1617. Bacon as Lord Chancellor on delivering him his patent complimented him on possessing the virtues of a judge, essentially those set forth in the essay.

Three of the essays tell us what recreations appealed to Bacon in the intervals of his busy life of statecraft and authorship. The essay *Of Masques and Triumphs* grew out of a long experience of writing in lighter vein. Between 1588 and 1614

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Bacon was the author or "chief contriver" or "chief encourager" of no less than six masques. After his marriage, in 1606, he found his father's house at Gorhambury too small, and built there a large and stately mansion, Verulam House, an experience which enabled him to speak with authority *Of Building*. In the following essay, *Of Gardens*, he writes,—“I, for my part, do not like images cut out in juniper or other garden stuffs; they be for children.” That is a criticism of Sir Nicholas Bacon's garden at Gorhambury, which gave place to the “princely garden” of not less than “thirty acres” surrounding Verulam House, and which is described with such minuteness of detail that the plan of it may be easily reconstructed. Bacon's fondness for gardens is his most engaging trait. A garden, he says, is “the purest of human pleasures,” “the greatest refreshment to the spirits of man.” John Aubrey's gossip brings him before us enjoying his own garden. “Every meale, according to the season of the yeare, he had his table strewed with sweet herbes and flowers, which he sayd did refresh his spirits and memorie.” And again,—“His Lordship was a very contemplative person, and was wont to contemplate in his delicious walks at Gorhambury, and dictate to Mr. Bushell, or some of his gentlemen, that attended him with ink and paper ready to set downe presently his thoughts.” But the favorite companion in the meditative walks through the covert alleys of Gorhambury was Thomas Hobbes, author of *The Leviathan*. “Mr.

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Tho. Hobbes (Malmesburiensis) was beloved by his Lop. [Lordship], who was wont to have him walke in his delicate groves, when he did meditate: and when a notion darted into his mind, Mr. Hobbes was presently to write it downe, and his Lop. was wont to say that he did it better than any one els about him; for that many times, when he read their notes he scarce understood what they writt, because they understood it not clearly themselves. In short, all that were *great and good* loved and honoured him."

Of Regiment of Health narrates how Bacon managed to preserve almost to the Psalmist's three score years and ten a body naturally frail, and to get out of it a vast amount of hard work. It was accomplished through a thorough knowledge of his own constitution, and by the constant observance of a few simple principles of hygiene, temperance always, and a just mean between work and recreation.

With the essay Of Plantations should be read the early history of the colony of Virginia. The first attempt to colonize Virginia was in 1585, when Sir Richard Grenville carried out a band of colonists under rules of government drawn up by Grenville's cousin, Sir Walter Raleigh. This colony failed a year later while Bacon was serving his second term in the House of Commons as member for Taunton. Raleigh as member for Devon was at the time his colleague, and the failure undoubtedly left an impression in Bacon's mind, as all matters of public policy did. In the second year of his

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Solicitor-Generalship, when King James was proposing the Protestant plantation of Ulster, Bacon wrote his first article on colonization, *Discourse of the Plantation in Ireland*, about January, 1608–1609. His point of view was essentially that put forth in *Certain Articles or Considerations touching the Union of the Kingdoms of England and Scotland* (1604). The Solicitor-General believed in the aggrandizement of the United Kingdom, peaceably by preference, but by force if necessary. At the very time that Bacon was engaged in writing this paper on the Irish plantation, a fresh attempt to colonize Virginia was maturing at Court, for on May 23, 1609, "The Treasurer of the Company of Adventurers and Planters of the City of London for the First Colony in Virginia" was chartered by King James, primarily to go to the relief of Captain John Smith. Among the six hundred and fifty-nine "adventurers" were Sir Francis Bacon, his cousin, Robert Cecil, now Earl of Salisbury, Shakspeare's friend, the Earl of Southampton, and Sir Oliver Cromwell, uncle to the Protector. The essay *Of Plantations*, first published in the third edition of the *Essays* (1625), was written from a personal knowledge of the London or South Virginia Company. Bacon mentions the over-cultivation of the new plant, tobacco, in Virginia, "to the untimely prejudice of the main business." The very streets of Jamestown were planted with tobacco by the first settlers, who then secured for themselves from King James a monopoly of the home market for their commodity, in spite of the royal objection to

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the "vile custome of Tobacco taking." The advice to colonists not to let their government depend upon too many counsellors at home, "but upon a temperate number only," doubtless reflects Bacon's own experience of the unwieldy committee of noblemen and gentlemen who tried to govern the planters of Virginia from the safe and uninformed distance of London.

"Travel," says Bacon, "in the younger sort, is a part of education; in the elder, a part of experience." His own travels, as we know, were "a part of education," and they extended no farther than France, nor beyond his eighteenth year. After that he was too busy and for many years too poor to travel. But the essay *Of Travel* shows that he had profited by the travels of others, and especially by those of his brother, Anthony, who wandered about the continent, chiefly in France, for the eleven or twelve years between 1579 and 1592. By the middle of Elizabeth's reign, it had become the fashion for noblemen's sons and young men of family to travel to complete their education. It was expensive education, for the conditions of travel were such that the young man had to be accompanied by a tutor and by servants. The only means of transportation were horses for land travel and boats where waterways were available. Young men, and older men who could stand it, rode horseback day after day. The letters of the poet, Francis Davison, to his father, Secretary Davison, make known what difficulties the sons of gentlemen met with when

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travelling like noblemen. Anthony Bacon's long travels so seriously embarrassed his estate that he never afterwards was out of debt. During these travels he found himself, in 1582, in Bordeaux, and there he formed a friendship with the Sieur de Montaigne. At that time about a year had passed since Montaigne's return from a seventeen months' tour through France, Germany, Switzerland, and Italy. The young traveller and the older one must have exchanged many pleasant memories of places, persons, and things. Montaigne, keeping a diary, and less interested in sights than in the ways of life of foreign folk, their social and political institutions, was such a traveller as Bacon would have been, if it had been his fortune to travel in mature years. Of Englishmen, the late Elizabethan, John Evelyn, cultivated, observant, tolerant, is also of the sort. But no Elizabethan traveller is merely chatty. Fynes Moryson's *Itinerary* and *Coryats Crudities*, in spite of its quips and cranks, are valuable records of travel under Elizabeth and James.

In the essay *Of Studies* a lifelong student describes his craft. "He was no plodder upon books," writes his chaplain, Dr. Rawley, "though he read much, and that with great judgment, and rejection of impertinences incident to many authors; for he would ever interlace a moderate relaxation of his mind with his studies, as walking, or taking the air abroad in his coach, or some other befitting recreation [in the Latin version Rawley adds 'gentle exercise on horseback and playing

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at bowls'] and yet he would lose no time, inasmuch as upon his first and immediate return he would fall to reading again, and so suffer no moment of time to slip from him without some present improvement. It may well be that the subject *Of Studies* was the one that revolved longest in Bacon's mind, for it is the first essay of the edition of 1597, where it consists of eleven sentences only arranged in seven paragraphs, each formally isolated from the rest by the paragraph sign ¶. In the edition of 1625, *Of Studies* is number fifty. This original construction of detached sentences on a single theme accords with the first meaning of the word 'essay,' which Bacon in his 1597 title seems to have introduced into English, from Montaigne, though it was quite in character for him to cite a favorite Latin classic to support his use of the term. In the draft of the dedication of the second edition of the *Essays*, 1607-1612, to Prince Henry, not used on account of the death of the prince and never printed by Bacon, he says he had chosen "to write certaine breif notes, sett downe rather significantlye, then curiously, which I have called *Essaies*; The word is late, but the thing is auncient. For Senecaes Epistles to Lucilius; yf one marke them well, are but *Essaies*,—That is dispersed Meditacions." Dr. Johnson's definition of 'essay,' in 1755, is "an irregular undigested piece."

It is extremely interesting to observe the growth of the original ten essays through the second edition to the third. It will be seen that as Bacon's

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literary style developed the thought of the earliest essays does not materially change in the second edition, but that it is here and there expanded by a qualifying idea or by an apt illustration. For example, the apothegms of the last paragraph of *Studies*, of 1597, "Histories make men wise, Poets wittie," etc., is enlarged in 1612 by the simile comparing the effect of study upon the mind to that of exercise upon the body. The edition of 1625 sent forth the ten early essays expanded to nearly double their original size, while some of the essays of 1612 were entirely rewritten, notably the essay *Of Friendship*.

When Bacon expanded a subject the method that came most natural to him was that of the scientist, by analysis and contrast. *Friendship* resolves itself for him into three principal "fruits," "peace in the affections," "support of the judgment," and "aid and comfort in action." The puzzling degrees of dissimulation he describes, *Of Simulation and Dissimulation*, remind one of the excellent fooling of Touchstone on how to "quarrel in print, by the book," or the seven degrees of lies. The essay *Of Adversity* is merely a series of antitheses, an oracular list of pros and cons. It might have been composed by drawing up on opposite pages a debit and credit account of life. Again, Bacon's choice of abstract subjects to write upon is in keeping with the analytic character of his mind. To choose a general theme, like "Truth" or "Death" or "Praise," and to say something upon it which is at once worth while and new can be

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done by a great writer only. To express a new and valuable thought in language that combines at once the qualities of simplicity, precision, dignity, and universality can be done by a very great writer only. That feat Bacon accomplished, best of Englishmen.

When one examines Bacon's literary style as the outcome of his reading and study, it presents the same anomaly as his moral character. He was a diligent reader of Cicero, and he had so little faith in the English language that he had his *Essays* translated into Latin, to preserve them in what he called "the universal language." But the *Essays* "come home to men's business and bosoms" precisely because in forming his English style Bacon is not Ciceronian and rhetorical. He quotes a pun of Caesar's and one of his apothegms, but nothing more; he does not mention Catullus; and yet in English, Bacon displays the same quality of style that distinguishes the *Commentaries* of Caesar and the lyric poetry of Catullus. It is the Attic style, which aims at idiomatic purity, not only in choice of words, but also in a simple and even severe correctness of construction, *urbanitas*, as the Latin says. Dr. Rawley tells us that Bacon was always seeking the "clear" word and could not but be "polite," that is, urbane. In hitting upon just the right word, Bacon exhibits everywhere a mastery of his art that is as subtle as it is inimitable. Notice the emotional tone of the word 'reverend' in "it is a *reverend* thing to see an ancient castle or building not in decay;" so 'strangely' in "it

draws the eye *strangely*” is fairly hypnotic in suggestion. Of beautiful and striking antitheses Bacon is full, like “for if a man can be partaker of God’s theatre, he shall likewise be partaker of God’s rest.” It adds much to the pleasure of reading Bacon’s *Essays* to be sensitive to the fulness and nicety of meaning of the well chosen words used. “Discretion of speech,” says Bacon in *Of Discourse*, “is more than eloquence; and to speak agreeably to him with whom we deal, is more than to speak in good words, or in good order.” This principle, in the stylistic code of the Atticists, is the conversational tone, the *loqui* of Caesar, not the *dicere* of Cicero. It is vastly more difficult to put elegance and dignity and weight into conversational language, than to write with rhetorical flourishes, to express the thought in fine language merely. It can be accomplished, as Bacon accomplished it, by taking pains always. Dr. Rawley goes on,—“Neither was he given to any light conceits, or descanting upon words, but did ever purposely and industriously avoid them; for he held such things to be but digressions or diversions from the scope intended, and to derogate from the weight and dignity of the style.”

The Attic style is particularly hard to write in English, because English is naturally a discursive language. Bacon caught it in the first place from the happy accident of being an Elizabethan. Again, Bacon’s mind was a thoroughly logical one. Every new acquisition of its full content fell into its proper place with great distinctness. Lastly,

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Bacon was a Latinist, and Latin is the one language, ancient or modern, that can say the most in the fewest words.

The Roman Atticist who most affected Bacon's style is his favorite philosophical historian, Tacitus. As stylists the likenesses and differences between Tacitus and Bacon are of interest. Both writers were keen observers of men and things, the minds of both were naturally analytic, both possessed the faculty of crystallizing psychological or ethical or general truths in pointed epigrams or well-balanced antitheses. Bacon is fond of quoting from Tacitus the brief and telling sentences in which he summed up the character of a man, or the tone of an era. On the other hand, Bacon carefully avoided the rhetorical faults which lay Tacitus's style open to the charge of occasional obscurity. Bacon did not coin words, neither did he put new meaning into old words, nor use rare and uncommon expressions. He has no tricks of singularity. His is an art so bare and open that it even suggests no art, stylelessness. Instead of the labored obscurity here and there in Tacitus, Bacon's style is illuminated by the play of a great imagination, which suggested to him now a picturesque word, and now a striking comparison. Finally, Tacitus lived in the decline of an era, and his prevailing tone is gray and pessimistic. Over Bacon's style there rests the serenity of philosophic calm. The English Tacitus was born in a great age, and he was a lover of his fellow-men.

As to specific points of style, the most casual

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reader cannot but notice Bacon's manner of introduction. It is that of a practised debater. Bacon is a good opener. Many of the opening sentences arrest attention at once, as it was undoubtedly intended they should. Sometimes the thought is expressed in an aphoristic figure, as, "Revenge is a kind of wild justice," *Of Revenge*. Sometimes it is an apt quotation, like "What is truth? said jesting Pilate," *Of Truth*. Sometimes it is a great thought inimitably set in speech. "God Almighty first planted a garden," is the jewel-like sentence that opens the essay *Of Gardens*. When the weary wayfarer sees that legend shining resplendent over the gate of an old-time garden, he must needs enter in to refresh his spirit.

As has been said, Bacon's model for brief and pointed expression is Tacitus, whom he had read "wholly, and with diligence and attention." Tacitus more than any other author contributed to the swiftness and philosophic range of Bacon's thought, and the other classical writers who helped to make him "a full man," stand, after Tacitus, probably in this order, Cicero, Seneca, Plutarch, Livy, Vergil, Ovid, the two Plinies, Suetonius, Lucretius, Lucian, Caesar, Lucan, Plautus, Terence, Horace, Martial, Plato, Homer, Herodotus and Aristotle. The Greeks make way for the Romans in this list, both in number and in frequency of quotation. Plutarch was a favorite Greek author with Bacon, as he was with Shakspeare and the other Elizabethans. There are two reasons for the popu-

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larity of Plutarch at that time. The active and inquiring minds of the Elizabethans enjoyed Plutarch as an all-round man. He satisfied their intellectual curiosity on many points. Besides, Plutarch was the most fortunate of the Greeks in contemporary translation. Thomas North's translation of Plutarch, from the French of Jacques Amyot, was called *The Lives of the Noble Grecians and Romans*, and came out in 1579, with a dedication to Queen Elizabeth. It was written in simple, idiomatic, picturesque prose, the best English prose that had been written up to that time. As is well known, North's *Plutarch* was Shakspeare's storehouse of classical learning. Page after page of the 'lives' of Caesar, Brutus, Antony, and Coriolanus in Shakspeare is simply the noble English of North's narrative animated with the life and play of dialogue. North's masterly manner in prose was to develop into Bacon himself and into the translators of the *Authorized Version* of the Bible. Bacon read Greek and may have quoted the *Plutarch's Lives* from that reading, but it is more than likely that he used one of the four editions of North's translations that appeared during his lifetime. He was certainly familiar with *The Philosophie, commonly called the Morals, written by the learned philosopher Plutarch*, and translated from the Greek, in 1603, by Philemon Holland, with a dedication to James I.

In general reading, Bacon quotes of the Fathers, St. Augustine, *Of Truth*, and St. Bernard, *Of Unity in Religion* and *Of Atheism*. Of French-

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men, he alludes to Rabelais as "a master of scoffing" in *Of Unity in Religion*. The story of Charles the Bold in *Of Friendship* Bacon took from Thomas Danett's admirable English translation, *The Historie of Philip de Commines, Knight, Lord of Argenton*, which was published in 1601, but is dedicated to his uncle, Lord Burghley, under date "1 Nov. 1596." Elsewhere in the *Essays*, Bacon shows acquaintance with Commines's 'History of Louis XI,' a serene, dispassionate, philosophical account of that Machiavellian prince. Commines, who has been described as "as humane as the ancients and almost as wise as Tacitus himself," was a historian after Bacon's own heart. Besides the 'pretty' saying about truth and his title, Bacon adopted from Montaigne the idea of popularizing moral philosophy. Montaigne had discoursed delightfully of the philosophy of common things for Frenchmen. He would do the same for Englishmen, and he did it, but the French and English manner differ as the poles. Montaigne's reflections on life centre in his own individuality. Fortunately, it was a great and original individuality, disciplined by the conduct of affairs, and cultivated by books and society and travel. With that equipment, Montaigne tells us from his tower what he thought of life. He is garrulous, he is personal, painfully personal at times, he is familiar, "the intimate friend of us all," as Sainte-Beuve said. Bacon's philosophy of life is nearly as impersonal as Shakspeare's; it is brief, almost blunt; it has a remote air, as if Seneca had indeed inspired it.

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The love of classical learning, breadth of view, benevolence, and wit are qualities which distinguish alike the essays of Michel de Montaigne and Francis Bacon.

Montaigne observes of the moral insensibility of Francesco Guicciardini, his cold, passionless manner of depicting a great national tragedy, the decline and fall of his own country after the French invasion of 1494, "among the many motives and counsels on which he adjudicates, he never attributes any one of them to virtue, religion, or conscience, as if all these were quite extinct in the world." Bacon had doubtless read Montaigne's opinion of Guicciardini, in the second book of his *Essays*. He had undoubtedly read Guicciardini's *L'istoria d'italia*, either in the original, or what is more likely, in the translation of Geoffrey Fenton, *The Historie of Guicciardin* (1579). Fenton's Guicciardini was dedicated to Queen Elizabeth, and was a popular translation from the Italian, running to three editions during her reign and one in King James's time. There is a certain likeness between Guicciardini and Bacon in both career and character. Benedetto Varchi, his contemporary and fellow-historian, writes of Guicciardini,— "Messer Francesco, besides his noble birth, his riches and his academical degree, and besides having been Governor and Viceroy of the Pope, was highly esteemed and enjoyed a great reputation; not only for his knowledge, but for his great practical acquaintance with the affairs of the world and the actions of men. Of such he would dis-

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course admirably, and his judgment was sound. But his conduct did not tally with his speech; being by nature proud and curt, he was swayed sometimes by ambition, but oftener by avarice, in a manner unbecoming to a well-bred and modest man." Bacon was proud, but not curt, nor was he avaricious, though the love of what money can buy was strong in him. Otherwise, Varchi's character of Guicciardini might do for Bacon set down in Italy. Like Bacon, Guicciardini was keenly observant, he had the habit of recording his impressions of men and things, and it was his mental turn to record them in the form of aphorisms. But Guicciardini's view was narrow, as Montaigne says, and he had not the ability to relate and combine facts on broad general principles; his history is therefore rather the memoranda and maxims of a statesman, scientifically arranged, than a philosophical summing up of human affairs. Nor had Guicciardini a literary style. He is more of a thinker than an author.

In the essay *Of Superstition* Bacon quotes from the *Historia del Concilio Tridentino*, by the Venetian, Fra Paolo Sarpi, probably from the contemporary translation of Sir Nathaniel Brent, but the Italian whom Bacon knew best was Machiavelli. Though the great Florentine is quoted but four times, three times only by name, yet many of the *Essays* should be read in connection with Machiavelli's *Discorsi sopra La Prima Deca di T. Livio*. The last essay, *Of Vicissitude of Things*, was clearly suggested by Book II, Chapter 5,

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of Machiavelli's work, which is on the subject "That Deluges, Pestilences, the change of Religion and Languages, and other accidents, in a manner extinguish the memory of many things." Machiavelli's *Discourses* on Livy was *facile princeps* the history that made Bacon wise. From abstract principles in the sphere of government, Machiavelli appealed to experience; for authority as the test of truth, he substituted scientific facts. This practical method of writing history Bacon approved of highly. "We are much beholden," he says, "to Machiavel and others that wrote what men do, and not what they ought to do." The principle thus clearly stated explains such essays as, *Of Cunning*, *Of Wisdom for a Man's Self*, and the like.

What is called Bacon's Machiavellism has been the subject of much controversy and much misunderstanding. It seems to make it well-nigh impossible for historians of letters to write of him without taking sides. Pope's epigram, "the wisest, brightest, meanest of mankind," is said to have been the inspiration of Macaulay's well-known essay, *Lord Bacon*. R. W. Church, in *English Men of Letters*, and E. A. Abbott, one of the best of recent editors of the *Essays*, are both severe critics of Bacon. James Spedding devoted his life to the defence and succeeded in clarifying many of the points at issue. The subject can scarcely be presented better to the student, at first hand, and in brief compass, than by suggesting the reading of the essay *Of Cunning* in immediate connection with that *Of Fortune*. Bacon believed, as he says, that

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every man is the architect of his own fortune. That is a truism. The experience of men in every land and at all times confirms it. The older democracy of the French Revolution and of the Signers cherished the idea as almost inspired doctrine. The difficulty is that moral ideas develop and change. Bacon, though a religious man, was essentially not a moralist. Like Machiavelli, but with the sea change from Italy to England, he accepted the moral and religious ideas of his time. His religious writings show that by preference he always took the middle course. In morals, Bacon's ideas combine curiously the enlightened thought of pagan Greece and Rome with the Christian ethics of the Bible. But this is theory with him; in practice he did not rise above the political morality of his time. He fell below it at the last. In that morality the distinction between right and wrong in conduct was neither so sharply nor so widely drawn as now. The development of moral ideas and the ethical point of view should be factors in any judgment of the actions of men and women of former times. The same justice which underlies James Spedding's eminently sane judgment of Bacon, John Morley extended to Machiavelli in his brilliant Romanes Lecture of 1897.

When we consider the great drama of the Elizabethan age, the bulk of it running to some fifteen hundred plays, its popularity, its reflection of contemporary life at all angles, its excellence and the high average of ability of the writers who were producing it, and Shakspeare one of them, it is little

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short of astounding that nowhere throughout the fifty-eight essays does Bacon either quote a thought from the drama or mention a single dramatist. His silence is all the more extraordinary from the fact that he was himself concerned in the representation of six masques, the first as a Gray's Inn man of twenty-five and the last so late in life as his Attorney-Generalship, when he was fifty-two years old. Various explanations may be offered. Bacon was born in Court circles and was a lifelong courtier. Players were held in such contempt as to be classed legally with vagabonds. We know that Shakspeare was sensitive to the degradation of his calling in public opinion,

"My nature is subdued
To what it works in, like the dyer's hand."

Francis Beaumont was born a gentleman, and his name does not appear on the title-page of any play of his published during his lifetime. Further, Bacon was a busy man, probably occupied all day and every day with law and politics, and by night with his studies and authorship. He worked too hard to be much of a play-goer, even if he had been inclined to spend his afternoons at the theatres. Curious as the phenomenon is, nothing conceivable can better express the vitality and power of English literature than that it added to the thought of the world two such productions as the *Essays* of Bacon and the plays of Shakspeare, the work of two men who walked the streets of London together for the span of some thirty years, so far as we know, each

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unknown personally to the other. One person made a link between them, the Earl of Southampton, to whom Shakspeare dedicated *Venus and Adonis*, in 1593, 'the first heir of his invention.' Five years later Southampton lost the Queen's favor by marrying without her consent, Elizabeth Vernon, the Earl of Essex's cousin. He was obliged to absent himself from Court, and we hear of him in 1599 as "passing his time in London merely in going to plays every day." Bacon knew Southampton as a friend to the Earl of Essex, and acted as Queen's counsel in prosecuting him for his complicity in Essex's treasonable practices. Later in James the First's reign, Bacon was associated with the Earl of Southampton on the board of governors of the South Virginia Company. But Southampton would seem not to have forgotten Bacon's share in Essex's death and his own imprisonment, for when Lord Chancellor Bacon was charged with corruption before the House of Lords, it was the Earl of Southampton who drove the charges home by insisting on a particular confession. The patron of Shakspeare in youth did not befriend Bacon in age.

Doubtless a sufficient explanation of Bacon's unconsciousness of the local drama that was being written and acted all about him is that as a reader he preferred the classics. Nor, indeed, was he an omnivorous reader, though he had read much. He was a man who read the best books and read them thoroughly. Moreover, as a man of affairs rather than a mere bookish person, he thought about what

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he read and meditated upon it. But the books that he read most and knew best were the works of Latin authors; he wrote Latin fluently, he thought in Latin, as his writings in both Latin and English abundantly show. The Latin of Bacon is partly his individual bent and partly the tenor of his age. Latin has come into English mainly in two great streams, through the French of the Norman conquest and directly from the revival of learning, and just as one must read Chaucer to understand the French influence, so Bacon best represents the learned borrowing of Latin of the Renaissance. Bacon was the most learned man of Elizabethan times, and the Elizabethan time was learned. To learn to read then was to learn to read Latin. Boys in school learned their grammar from Latin grammars, as Shakspeare shows that he did in the King's New School of Stratford-upon-Avon, and a very good way to learn grammar it is. By the time the boy had completed his university course, if he had made good use of his time, Latin had become to him a second vernacular. If the young man was the son of a landed proprietor and stayed at home, his household accounts were kept in Latin. If he entered one of the learned professions, the law, or the church, or medicine, he had to draw up legal documents in Latin, or to read theology in Latin, or to study medical science written in Latin. If he was ambitious to become an author, he thought he must write his books in Latin. Roger Ascham, dedicating his *Toxophilus* to Henry VIII, in 1545, remarked that it would have been easier,

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and more suitable to his scholar's profession, to have written the book in Latin or Greek. A young man destined for the service of the state, as Bacon was, found Latin the language of diplomacy and official business. With a Latin training like this, possessed of an unusually bright mind, and a scholar by instinct, Bacon remained throughout his life singularly in touch with the great Roman writers.

It is a matter of common observation that the English language from century to century swings like a great pendulum to and fro between its two elements, Teutonic and Romance. In Elizabeth's time the two forces were probably nearer equilibrium than they have ever been, before or since. This is why the *Authorized Version* of the Bible, and Shakspeare's plays, and Bacon's *Essays* are the great conservators of the English speech. The bones of English are in them, and in good style, as in good portraiture or good sculpture, the bones underneath must show. Of the three, Bacon is consciously the most Latinized. For this reason, if one wishes to learn something of the Latin in English, either its prevalence or its stylistic effect, Bacon is the best English classic to study. Apart from the general question of style already discussed, Bacon's Latinity shows itself in the *Essays* mainly in his Latin paraphrases, in the use of English words in their Latin senses (thinking in Latin), in the frequent quotation of Latin proverbs, and even of a Latin pun. Any one of Bacon's Latin paraphrases will illustrate what a hold on

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the English language it is to have Latin for a second vernacular. One of the most remarkable examples is the summing up of Livy's comment on Scipio Africanus Major at the end of the essay *Of Youth and Age*,—"Livy saith, in effect, *Ultima primis cedebant*," 'the last fell short of the first.' Bacon's three Latin words, recollected from Ovid, condense fourteen of Livy's and Livy furnished not one of the three. An interesting variation between Bacon's Latin and that of his original occurs at the close of the essay *Of Cunning*. Quoting *Proverbs* xiv. 8,—“The wisdom of the prudent is to understand his way: but the folly of fools is deceit,” from his recollection of the *Vulgate*, he writes, “Salomon saith, *Prudens advertit ad gressus suos: stultus divertit ad dolos*.” The *Vulgate* reads, *Sapientia callidi est intelligere viam suam: et imprudentia stultorum errans*. Here Bacon says in nine Latin words what the *Vulgate* says in ten, and all of his words are different but one, and that one appears in a different form. It is illuminating to observe the master of a great language wielding another great language and so moulding it to his will as to compel it to assume new and strange forms.

There is no surer test of command over a foreign language than appreciation of its wit. “Caesar did himself infinite hurt in that speech—‘*Sylla nescivit literas, non potuit dictare*,’ ” says Bacon, writing on so serious a subject as *Of Seditions and Troubles*. The pun here is of that subtle sort that cuts both ways when the edges meet, like the blades

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of a pair of sharp scissors. If Caesar did not utter this one, it is worthy of him. Bacon thought so, too, and recorded Caesar's witticism among his *Apophthegmes New and Old*, with the regret expressed in the preface,—“It is a pitie his Booke is lost: for I imagine they were collected, with Judgement and Choice.”

All his life Bacon was a collector of pointed sayings, not only apothegms but proverbs. In part this was a personal inclination towards the simplest and clearest expression of thought, in part it was the Elizabethans cultivating brevity as the soul of wit. Numerous books of “prittie conceites” and many strings of proverbs attest their fondness for short, pithy sayings, grave and gay. “I hold the entry of commonplaces to be a matter of great use and essence in studying,” says Bacon. The habit of jotting down ideas on all sorts of subjects, and in the fewest possible words, explains in some measure how Bacon came by that characteristic of his style which makes so many of his sentences represent the compressed essence of things. Sometimes the thought is so packed that the language may fairly be said to give way, the sentence, like an ill-constructed building, being unable to bear the pressure put upon it; for example, “but if the force of custom, simple and separate, be great, the force of custom, copulate and conjoined and collegiate, is far greater,” *Of Custom and Education*. A similar expression, packed to the point of clumsiness, is “but no receipt openeth the heart but a true friend, to whom you may impart griefs,

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joys, fears, hopes, suspicions, counsels, and whatever lieth upon the heart to oppress it," *Of Friendship*. The whole essay *Of Studies* illustrates this manner of composition. The aphoristic sentences are simply packed closely one upon another, like gold sovereigns in a bag. The separate pieces of money have the continuity of being coin of the realm, but by the theory of chances they might be packed in an infinite variety of ways. In form, the essay is crude, styleless; in effect, it is direct, keen as a rapier's thrust.

Besides translated proverbs, Bacon quotes proverbs in Latin, French, Italian, and Spanish. And always, as he puts it, the proverb "pierces the knot in the business." Compare *Cor ne edito*, 'eat not the heart,' *Of Friendship*; *In nocte, consilium*, 'the night brings counsel,' as we say colloquially, sleep over it, *Of Counsel*; *Beaucoup de bruit, peu de fruit*, 'much bruit, little fruit,' *Of Vain-Glory*; *Mi venga la muerte de Spagna*, "'let my death come from Spain,' for then it will be sure to be long in coming," *Of Dispatch*. This same essay contains the well-known English proverb, 'the more haste, the less speed,' in the form of Bacon's apothegm about his diplomatic chief, Sir Amias Paulet, who was wont to say, "Stay a little, that we may make an end the sooner." But the bulk of proverbs in English throughout the *Essays* are quoted from the wisdom of the Bible, both the old Testament and New.

The Bible is directly quoted in thirty-four of the fifty-eight essays, and if to these thirty-four essays

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there is added those in which Bacon's language echoes Biblical thought, the number would be considerably greater. Bacon's familiarity with the Bible was great and at the same time catholic in its range. The only parts of it that did not occur to him for apt quotation were the books dealing with Jewish ceremonial law, the minor prophets, and the general epistles. The reading is more inclusive, but it is not unlike the list of books Ruskin gives in *Praeterita* as those his mother required him largely to commit to memory, while he read the Bible through every year from Genesis to the Apocalypse. "Once knowing," says Ruskin, "the 32d of Deuteronomy, the 119th Psalm, the 15th of 1st Corinthians, the Sermon on the Mount, and most of the Apocalypse, every syllable by heart, and having a way of thinking with myself what words meant, it was not possible for me, even in the foolishhest times of youth, to write entirely superficial or formal English." It cannot be said that Bacon's literary style owes as much to the Bible as that of Ruskin, a conscious stylist, but in the Bible he undoubtedly found that union of naturalness and dignity which is so inimitably his own. It has been suggested as one explanation of the noble English of the Bible that the translators of the *Authorized Version* had been brought up in the old religion, and that in consequence their English unconsciously caught and retained something of the music of the Latin service, as they had often heard it reverberating from hymn and chant through the lofty arches and down the long aisles

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of the cathedrals of England. Bacon's frequent quotations from the *Vulgate* show that he read the Bible in Latin habitually. Not seldom he quotes the *Vulgate* from memory, varying considerably from the original, just as he cites the sense of passages from Cicero and Livy. Even when he cites the Bible in English, it would seem that he had oftener in mind the *Vulgate*, rather than the *Authorized Version* of his later years. *Ecclesiastes* v. ii, "Where much is, there are many to consume it; and what hath the owner but the sight of it with his eyes?" is briefer and more picturesque in the essay *Of Riches* than in the *Authorized Version*. On the other hand, Bacon's "Salomon saith, Riches are as a strong hold in the imagination of the rich man" has become a proverb in the English of the translators, "The rich man's wealth is his strong city." (*Proverbs* x. 15.)

One reason why Bacon's *Essays*, one of the most learned works in English, is so easy to read and to understand, is that the language used is that of the Bible both in vocabulary and construction. The words 'marvel' meaning 'to wonder,' 'wax,' 'to grow,' 'profit,' 'to improve,' need no explanation to the reader of the *Authorized Version*. So, 'withe,' 'a willow twig,' *Of Custom and Education*, is familiar from the story of Samson. These and many others are Bible words in Bible meaning, and their construction is in simplest terms. The object of the translators was to put the Bible into the hands of the plain man, so that he could read it and understand it for himself. They

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therefore purposely used the plain man's language, refining it only as language is naturally refined by education and good breeding.

The only conscious principle of style that Bacon followed is the same. "In the composing of his books," says Dr. Rawley, "he did rather drive at a masculine and clear expression than at any fineness or affectation of phrases, and would often ask if the meaning were expressed plainly enough, as being one that accounted words to be but subservient or ministerial to matter, and not the principal."

As in the Bible, English folk-lore is embedded in Bacon's style. Twice, in *Of Friendship* and *Of Nature in Men*, he illustrates a point by means of the rustic's advice to his fellow in anger, to "say over the four and twenty letters." The use of the curious old expression "to turn the cat in the pan," *Of Cunning*, (that is, to reverse the order of things dexterously, to change sides,) by Sir Walter Scott, in *Old Mortality* (XXXV), suggests the point that various words and expressions that have gone out of English since Bacon's time still survive in the picturesque Scottish vernacular. In this same essay on *Cunning*, Bacon speaks of the "falls of business," meaning its 'chances.' That is what Burns means when in the *Address to the Deil*, he cries out, "Black be your fa'!"

Simplicity, or homeliness, in its fine old sense, is a marked characteristic of Bacon's imagery. Notice the homely words, that is to say, the words of home, in the well-known figure,—“Some books are

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to be *tasted*, others to be *swallowed*, and some few to be *chewed and digested*," *Of Studies*. So he writes, "Suspensions amongst thoughts are like bats amongst birds, they ever fly by twilight," *Of Suspicion*. Another figure brings into mind the recollection of some low-studded Elizabethan room, wainscoted and ceiled with quartered oak. The picture is all the more vivid, because it is so unexpected, as if a curtain suddenly drawn aside should give a glimpse through a window where no window was known to be. Speaking of the secure fame of Cicero, *Of Vain-Glory*, he says almost casually that vanity contributed to it, "like unto varnish, that maketh ceilings not only shine, but last." Bacon was fond of such sharp breaks in thought. They arrested attention. The stuff, however, of this image was a part of his daily life. "He seated himself, for the commodity of his studies and practice, amongst the Honourable Society of Gray's-Inn; of which House he was a member: where he erected that elegant pile or structure, commonly known by the name of *The Lord Bacon's Lodgings*, which he inhabited, by turns, the most part of his life (some few years only excepted) unto his dying day." (Dr. Rawley.) Picture to yourself Bacon, the lifelong student, in his chambers. The harassing business of the day in the House of Commons or in attendance at Court is done, and he has retired to his writing-room to converse with the men of old he loved so well. He reads the vain Cicero or the sententious Tacitus, he sets down in his common-place book what he has learned from

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their discourse. Perhaps of a summer evening a wandering bat darts in at the open window to disturb the vigil. Late, too late for sound health, he lies down on his couch, and when he wakes in the broad light of full day, his eyes open on the varnished wooden ceiling of a large, low bedroom. Bacon was no poet. His imagery is not that of a transcendent imagination playing over a subject and illuminating it here and there with brilliant flashes of light. But Bacon's mind was poetic, and he had the gift, which while it is not so rare as the transcendent imagination, is yet very rare, the gift of seeing analogies in common things. His similes and metaphors are the hardy flowers that grow by the wayside for any one to pluck. A whole body of them come from contemporary sports, cards, bowls, horsemanship. A cunning man may be able to "pack the cards" and yet not play well; so cunning men who understand persons rather than matters "are good but in their own alley," *Of Cunning*. Of a delicate constitution, he dabbled perforce in medicine, and another set of tropes reveal the curious *materia medica* of Tudor times,— "You may take sarza to open the liver, steel to open the spleen, flower of sulphur for the lungs, castoreum for the brain; but no receipt openeth the heart but a true friend," *Of Friendship*. Finally, the freshness of much of Bacon's imagery is delightful, like "Charity will hardly water the ground where it must first fill a pool," *Of Marriage and Single Life*. Men who hold on to business with failing powers are "like old towns-

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men, that will be still sitting at their street door, though thereby they offer age to scorn," *Of Great Place*. In manufactures and commerce he thought the Low Countries had "the best mines above ground in the world," *Of Seditions and Troubles*. And what a splendid metaphor that is in *Of Vicissitude of Things*,—"The great winding-sheets that bury all things in oblivion are two; deluges and earthquakes." The image here transcends the thought and as artistry produces upon the mind the same effect in kind as the cataclysm itself. The force of language can no farther go.

The combination of wisdom in thought and brevity and picturesqueness in form, what Lady Anne Bacon called her son's "enigmatic gilded writing," makes Bacon's *Essays* the most quotable prose in English. Sharing the world-wide fame of Shakspeare in this respect, many of Bacon's words and phrases of singular beauty and power are now fast woven into the web of English speech. No other prose work is so often quoted or has furnished so many quotations, even for those persons who have never read the essays in whole or in part. Not infrequently Bacon is cited for the Bible, but more often he is confounded by the unwary with Shakspeare. Every essay is quotable,—

"The virtue of prosperity is temperance, the virtue of adversity is fortitude," *Of Adversity*.

"It is a poor centre of a man's actions, himself," *Of Wisdom for a Man's Self*.

"It hath been an opinion, that the French are

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wiser than they seem, and the Spaniards seem wiser than they are," *Of Seeming Wise*.

"In sickness, respect health principally; and in health, action," *Of Regiment of Health*.

"For a crowd is not company, and faces are but a gallery of pictures, and talk but a tinkling cymbal, where there is no love," *Of Friendship*.

To vary Bacon, I have given the rule, if a man cannot find a bit of wisdom for himself, he may close the book.

What kind of man was the writer of these *Essays*? Politically, as was natural in a man of family born and bred under the Tudor government, Bacon was an imperialist. His ideal was a strong, centralized government. He believed in rank and dignities, and thought ruling a natural function of the nobility. Though a contemporary of the young Oliver Cromwell, he was no democrat. Neither was Shakspeare, born a man of the people. But Bacon would hardly have pushed the doctrine of royal divine right to the breaking point. He would have made concessions to the rising commonalty. Tolerance is a peculiarly attractive virtue and Bacon possessed it in a high degree. His wise prince is a sort of benevolent despot, a classical despot humanized by the ideas of the Renaissance. As to the conduct of life, there is much worldly wisdom inculcated in Bacon's maxims, some of which are frankly Machiavellian. Human nature is complex, and the bigger the man, the greater the complexity. The *Essays* are as surely the expression of a genuinely religious spirit, as

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of a worldly-wise one. Indeed, in spite of Bacon's errors of conduct, and however repellent Bacon's political trimming is to the straightforward man, his *Essays* bear the strongest possible testimony to the essential soundness of Bacon's moral character. A good man only could have written them. Hear the witness of Ben Jonson, as honest a man as ever lived,—“My conceit of his Person was never increased towards him, by his place, or honours. But I have, and doe reverence him for the greatnesse, that was only proper to himselfe, in that hee seem'd to mee ever, by his worke one of the greatest men, and most worthy of admiration, that had beene in many Ages. In his adversity I ever prayed, that God would give him strength: for Greatnesse hee could not want. Neither could I condole in a word, or syllable for him; as knowing no Accident could doe harme to vertue, but rather helpe to make it manifest.” (*Timber, or Discoveries. De augmentis scientiarum.*)

THE
ESSAYES OR COUNSELS,
CIVILL AND MORALL,
OF

FRANCIS LO. VERULAM, VISCOUNT ST. ALBAN.

NEWLY ENLARGED.

LONDON :

Printed by JOHN HAVILAND, for HANNA BARRETT and RICHARD WHITAKER
And are to be sold at the sign of the King's Head, in
Paul's Churchyard.

1625.

THE EPISTLE DEDICATORY.

To the Right Honourable my very good Lo. the
DUKE of BUCKINGHAM his Grace, Lo. High Ad-
miral of England.

EXCELLENT Lo.

SALOMON says, *A good name is as a precious ointment*; and I assure myself, such will your Grace's name be with posterity. For your fortune and merit both have been eminent. And you have planted things that are like to last. I do now publish my Essays; which, of all my other works have been most current; for that, as it seems, they come home to men's business and bosoms. I have enlarged them both in number and weight; so that they are indeed a new work. I thought it therefore agreeable to my affection and obligation to your Grace, to prefix your name before them, both in English and in Latin. For I do conceive that the Latin volume of them (being in the universal language) may last as long as books last. My Instauration I dedicated to the King; my History of Henry the Seventh (which I have now also translated into Latin), and my portions of Natural History, to the Prince; and these I dedicate to your Grace; being of the

THE EPISTLE DEDICATORY

best fruits that by the good encrease which God gives to my pen and labours I could yield. God lead your Grace by the hand.

Your Grace's most obliged and
faithful seruant,

FR. St. ALBAN.

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ESSAYS OR COUNSELS

CIVIL AND MORAL

ESSAYS OR COUNSELS

CIVIL AND MORAL.

I. OF TRUTH.

*WHAT is Truth?*¹ said jesting Pilate; and would not stay for an answer. Certainly there be that delight in giddiness; and count it a bondage to fix a belief;² affecting³ free-will in thinking, as well as in acting. And though the sects of philosophers of that kind be gone, yet there remain certain discoursing⁴ wits which are of the same veins, though there be not so much blood in them as was in those of the ancients. But it is not only the difficulty and labour which men take in finding out of truth; nor again that when it is found it imposeth⁵ upon men's thoughts; that doth bring lies in favour; but a

¹ *John* xviii. 38.

² Bacon probably had in mind here the sceptical philosophy of Heraclitus of Ephesus, born about 535 B.C., died about 475 B.C. Pyrrho, 360(?)–270(?) B.C., and Carneades, 213(?)–129 B.C., maintained that certainty could not be affirmed about anything. The reference may be to Democritus, 'the Abderite,' born about 460 B.C., died about 357 B.C., called 'the laughing philosopher.'

³ *Fleat Heraclitus, an rideat Democritus?* . . . shall I laugh with Democritus or weep with Heraclitus?" Robert Burton. *The Anatomy of Melancholy*. Partition 3. Section 4. Member 1. Subsection 3.

⁴ *Affect*. To make a show of, be fond of.

⁵ *Discoursing*. Possibly in the sense of *discursive*; i.e. roving, unsettled. But the word may mean debating, arguing.

⁶ *Impose*. To exert an influence on.

natural though corrupt love of the lie itself. One of the later school of the Grecians examineth the matter, and is at a stand to think what should be in it, that men should love lies, where neither they make for pleasure, as with poets,¹ nor for advantage, as with the merchant; but for the lie's sake. But I cannot tell: this same truth is a naked and open day-light, that doth not shew the masks and mummeries and triumphs of the world, half so stately and daintily² as candle-lights. Truth may perhaps come to the price of a pearl, that sheweth best by day; but it will not rise to the price of a diamond or carbuncle, that sheweth best in varied lights. A mixture of a lie doth ever add pleasure. Doth any man doubt, that if there were taken out of men's minds vain opinions, flattering hopes, false valuations, imaginations as one would,³ and the like, but it would leave the minds of a number of men poor shrunken things, full of melancholy and indisposition, and unpleasing to themselves? One of the Fathers, in great severity, called poesy *vinum dæmonum*⁴ because it filleth the imagination; and yet it is but with the shadow of a lie. But it is not the lie that passeth through the mind, but the lie that sinketh in and settleth in it, that doth the hurt; such as we spake of before. But howso-

¹ "There should always be some foundation of fact for the most airy fabric, and pure invention is but the talent of a liar." *Byron. Letter to John Murray. April 2, 1817. Letters and Journals. T. Moore.*

² *Daintily. Delicately, elegantly, gracefully.*

³ *As one would.* That is, as one *willed*, or wished. The verb *will* has here its presentive sense, as in *Philippians ii. 13*, "For it is God which worketh in you both to *will* and to do of his good pleasure."

⁴ *Wine of devils.* Used by St. Augustine, 354-430 A.D., Bishop of Hippo Regius in Numidia. *The Confessions of Augustine. I. xvi. 26.*

ever¹ these things are thus in men's depraved judgments and affections, yet truth, which only doth judge itself, teacheth that the inquiry of truth, which is the love-making or wooing of it, the knowledge of truth, which is the presence of it, and the belief of truth, which is the enjoying of it, is the sovereign good of human nature. The first creature of God, in the works of the days, was the light of the sense; the last was the light of reason; and his sabbath work ever since, is the illumination of his Spirit. First he breathed light upon the face of the matter or chaos; then he breathed light into the face of man; and still he breatheth and inspireth light into the face of his chosen. The poet that beautified the sect that was otherwise inferior to the rest,² saith yet excellently well: *It is a pleasure to stand upon the shore, and to see ships tossed upon the sea; a pleasure to stand in the window of a castle, and to see a battle and the adventures³ thereof below: but no pleasure is comparable to the standing upon the vantage ground of Truth, (a hill not to be commanded,⁴ and where the air is always clear and serene,) and to see the errors, and wanderings, and mists, and tempests, in the vale below; so⁵ always that this prospect⁶ be with pity,*

¹ *Howsoever.* Notwithstanding that, albeit. "And so will he do; for the man doth fear God, *howsoever* it seems not in him by some large jests he will make."

Shakspere. Much Ado About Nothing. ii. 3.

² The poet is Titus Lucretius, born 99 or 98 B.C., died 55 B.C. The sect is the Epicureans. Bacon quotes the thought, not the exact language, of the beginning of the second book of Lucretius's *De Rerum Natura*. Compare the *Advancement of Learning. I. viii. 5.*

³ *Adventure.* Chance, hap, luck, fortune.

⁴ In military tactics a high hill commands a lower one near it.

⁵ *So.* Provided, or on condition.

⁶ *Prospect* is active in sense, and means *overlooking, looking down upon.*

and not with swelling or pride. Certainly, it is heaven upon earth, to have a man's mind move in charity, rest in providence, and turn upon the poles of truth.¹

To pass from theological and philosophical truth, to the truth of civil business; it will be acknowledged even by those that practise it not, that clear and round² dealing is the honour of man's nature; and that mixture of falsehood is like allay³ in coin of gold and silver, which may make the metal work the better, but it embaseth⁴ it. For these winding and crooked courses are the goings of the serpent; which goeth basely upon the belly,⁵ and not upon the feet. There is no vice that doth so cover a man with shame as to be found false and perfidious. And therefore Montaigne⁶ saith prettily, when he inquired the reason, why the word of the lie should be such a disgrace and such an odious charge? Saith he, *If it be well weighed, to say that a man lieth,*

¹ "The basis of all excellence is truth." Dr. Samuel Johnson. *Life of Cowley*. Edited by Mrs. A. Napier. Bohn. 1890. p. 8.

² Round. Plain, downright, straightforward.

"I will a round, unvarnish'd tale deliver
Of my whole course of love."

Shakspeare. *Othello*. i. 3.

³ Allay. Old form of 'alloy,' an inferior metal mixed with one of greater value.

"For fools are stubborn in their way,
As coins are harden'd by th' allay."

Samuel Butler. *Hudibras*. Part III. Canto II. 481-482.

⁴ Embase. To reduce from a higher to a lower degree of worth or purity; to debase.

⁵ "And the Lord God said unto the serpent, Because thou hast done this, thou art cursed above all cattle, and above every beast of the field: upon thy belly shalt thou go, and dust shalt thou eat all the days of thy life." *Genesis* iii. 14.

⁶ Michel Eyquem de Montaigne, the celebrated French essayist, was born in 1533 and died in 1592. The first edition of the *Essais* appeared in 1580. Montaigne's thought will be found in the *Essais*, II. 18, where he quotes Plutarch's *Life of Lysander*.

*is as much to say, as that he is brave towards God and a coward towards men. For a lie faces God, and shrinks from man. Surely the wickedness of falsehood and breach of faith cannot possibly be so highly expressed, as in that it shall be the last peal to call the judgments of God upon the generations of men; it being foretold, that when Christ cometh, he shall not find faith upon the earth.*¹

II. OF DEATH.

MEN fear Death, as children fear to go in the dark; and as that natural fear in children is increased with tales, so is the other. Certainly, the contemplation of death, as the wages of sin² and passage to another world, is holy and religious; but the fear of it, as a tribute due unto nature, is weak. Yet in religious meditations there is sometimes mixture of vanity and of superstition. You shall read in some of the friars' books of mortification,³ that a man should think with himself what the pain is if he have but his finger's end pressed or tortured, and thereby imagine what the pains of death are, when the whole body is corrupted and dissolved; when many times death passeth with less pain than the torture of a limb: for the most vital parts are not the quickest of sense. And by him that spake only

¹ "Nevertheless when the Son of man cometh, shall he find faith on the earth!" *Luke xviii. 8.*

² "For the wages of sin is death." *Romans vi. 23.*

³ *Mortification. Humiliation, penance.*

as a philosopher and natural man, it was well said, *Pompa mortis magis terret, quam mors ipsa*:¹ Groans and convulsions, and a discoloured face, and friends weeping, and blacks,² and obsequies, and the like, shew death terrible. It is worthy the observing, that there is no passion in the mind of man so weak, but it mates³ and masters the fear of death; and therefore death is no such terrible enemy when a man hath so many attendants about him that can win the combat of him. Revenge triumphs over death; Love slights it; Honour aspireth to it; Grief flieth to it; Fear pre-occupateth⁴ it; nay we read, after Otho⁵ the emperor had slain himself, Pity (which is the tenderest of affections) provoked⁶ many to die, out of mere compassion to their sovereign, and as the truest sort of followers. Nay Seneca adds niceness and satiety: *Cogita quamdiu eadem feceris; mori velle, non tantum fortis, aut miser,*

¹ The surroundings of death strike more terror than death itself. *L. Annaei Senecae ad Lucilium Epistularum Moralium Liber III. Epistula III.* Seneca lived 4–65 A.D.

² Blacks. Black clothing for mourning; hangings of black cloth used in churches, etc., at funerals. In Shakspeare's time the upper part of the stage, technically called 'the heavens,' was hung with black when tragedies were performed.

"I would not hear of blacks, I was so light,
But chose a color orient like my mind:
For blacks are often such dissembling mourners,
There is no credit given to 't; it has lost
All reputation by false sons and widows."

Middleton. *The Old Law.* ii. 1.

³ Mate. To daunt; to stupefy.

"My mind she has mated and amazed my sight."

Shakspeare. *Macbeth.* v. 1.

⁴ Pre-occupate. To occupy before; to anticipate.

⁵ Marcus Salvius Otho, Roman emperor, 32–69 A.D.

⁶ Provoke. To stimulate to action; to move; to excite. "And let us consider one another, to provoke unto love and to good works." *Hebrews x.* 24.

*sed etiam fastidiosus potest.*¹ A man would die, though he were neither valiant nor miserable, only upon a weariness to do the same thing so oft over and over. It is no less worthy to observe, how little alteration in good spirits the approaches of death make; for they appear to be the same men till the last instant. Augustus Cæsar² died in a compliment; *Livia*,³ *conjugii nostri memor, vive et vale:*⁴ Tiberius⁵ in dissimulation; as Tacitus⁶ saith of him, *Jam Tiberium vires et corpus, non dissimulatio, deserebant:*⁷ Vespasian⁸ in a jest; sitting upon the stool, *Ut puto Deus fio:*⁹ Galba¹⁰ with a sentence; *Feri, si ex re sit populi Romani:*¹¹ holding forth

¹ Think how often you do the same things. A man may wish to die, not so much because he is brave or miserable, as that he is tired of living. *L. Annaei Senecae ad Lucilium Epistularum Moralium Liber X. Epistula I.*

"It is a brave act of valour to contemn death; but where life is more terrible than death, it is then the truest valour to dare to live." *Sir Thomas Browne. Religio Medici. Part I. Section 44.*

² Caius Octavius, called later, Caius Julius Caesar Octavianus Augustus, great-nephew of Julius Caesar, and first Roman emperor, lived 63 B.C. to 14 A.D.

³ Livia Drusilla was the mother of Tiberius and the third wife of Augustus. 'Caesar Augustus died in a compliment.—I hope 't was a sincere one!—quoth my Uncle Toby.—'T was to his wife,—said my father.' *Sterne. Tristram Shandy. V. 3.*

⁴ Livia, mindful of our union, live on, and farewell. *C. Suetoni Tranquilli De XII Caesaribus Liber II. D. Octavius Caesar Augustus. 100.*

⁵ Tiberius Claudius Nero Caesar, stepson of Augustus and Roman emperor, lived 42 B.C. to 37 A.D.

⁶ Cornelius Tacitus, Roman historian, lived from about 55 to about 117 A.D. He wrote *De vita et moribus Julii Agricolae*; *Germania*; *Historiae*, accounts of the reigns of Galba, Otho, Vitellius, Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian; and *Annales*, a history of the Julian dynasty from the death of Augustus.

⁷ His strength and vitality were now deserting Tiberius, but not his dissimulation. *P. Cornelii Taciti Annalium Liber VI. Caput 50.*

⁸ Titus Flavius Sabinus Vespasianus, Roman emperor, 9–79 A.D.

⁹ I suppose I am becoming a god. *C. Suetoni Tranquilli De XII Caesaribus Liber VIII. T. Flavius Vespasianus Augustus. 23.*

¹⁰ Servius Sulpicius Galba, Roman emperor, lived 3 B.C. to 69 A.D.

¹¹ Strike, if it be for the good of the Roman people. *Cornelii Taciti Historiarum Liber I. Caput 41.*

his neck. Septimius Severus¹ in despatch; *Adeste si quid mihi restat agendum*:² And the like. Certainly the Stoics bestowed too much cost upon death, and by their great preparations made it appear more fearful. Better saith he, *qui finem vitæ extremum inter munera ponat naturæ*.³ It is as natural to die as to be born; and to a little infant, perhaps, the one is as painful as the other. He that dies in an earnest pursuit, is like one that is wounded in hot blood; who, for the time, scarce feels the hurt; and therefore a mind fixed and bent upon somewhat that is good doth avert the dolours⁴ of death. But above all, believe it, the sweetest canticle is, *Nunc dimittis*;⁵ when a man hath obtained worthy ends and expectations. Death hath this also; that it openeth the gate to good fame, and extinguisheth envy. *Extinctus amabitur idem*.⁶

¹ Lucius Septimius Severus, Roman emperor, 146–211 A.D.

² Make haste, if anything remains for me to do. *Dion Cassius. Liber LXXVI. 17.*

³ Who considers the end of life as one of nature's blessings. The thought is Juvenal's, *D. Junii Juvenalis Aquinatis Satirarum Liber IV. Satira X. 358–359.* Bacon quotes the verse again in the *Advancement of Learning. II. xxi. 5.*

⁴ Dolours. Grievs, sorrows. "About this time I did light on a dreadful story of that miserable mortal, Francis Spira; a book that was to my troubled spirit, as salt when rubbed into a fresh wound: every sentence in that book, every groan of that man, with all the rest of his actions in his *dolours*, as his tears, his prayers, his gnashing of teeth, his wringing of hands, his twisting, and languishing, and pining away under that mighty hand of God that was upon him, were as knives and daggers to my soul." *Bunyan. Grace Abounding to the Chief of Sinners. The Works of that eminent servant of Christ, John Bunyan, Minister of the Gospel; and formerly Pastor of a Congregation at Bedford. Vol. I. p. 49. (New Haven. 1831.)*

⁵ *Nunc dimittis*, or the Song of Simeon. *Luke ii. 29–32.* "Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace." It is one of the canticles for Evening Prayer in the Church of England.

⁶ The same man, dead, will be loved; i.e., he who is envied and suffers from detraction in life, may become a hero after death. *Q. Horatii Flacci Epistolarum Liber II. Epistola I. Ad Augustum. 14.*

III. OF UNTY IN RELIGION.

RELIGION being the chief band of human society, it is a happy thing when itself is well contained within the true band of Unity. The quarrels and divisions about religion were evils unknown to the heathen. The reason was, because the religion of the heathen consisted rather in rites and ceremonies, than in any constant belief. For you may imagine what kind of faith theirs was, when the chief doctors¹ and fathers of their church were the poets. But the true God hath this attribute, that he is a *jealous God*;² and therefore his worship and religion will endure no mixture nor partner. We shall therefore speak a few words concerning the Unity of the Church; what are the Fruits thereof; what the Bounds; and what the Means.

The Fruits of Unity (next unto the well pleasing of God, which is all in all) are two; the one towards those that are without the church, the other towards those that are within. For the former; it is certain that heresies and schisms are of all others the greatest scandals; yea, more than corruption of manners. For as in the natural body a wound or solution of continuity³ is worse than a

¹ Doctor. Teacher, instructor. "And it came to pass that after three days they found him in the temple, sitting in the midst of the doctors, both hearing them, and asking them questions." *Luke ii. 46.*

² "For thou shalt worship no other god: for the Lord, whose name is *Jealous*, is a *jealous God*." *Exodus xxxiv. 14.* Compare also the Second Commandment, *Exodus xx. 5.*

³ A wound makes a *solution of continuity* by severing muscles, nerves, arteries, and the like.

corrupt humour; so in the spiritual. So that nothing doth so much keep men out of the church, and drive men out of the church, as breach of unity. And therefore, whensoever it cometh to that pass, that one saith *Ecce in deserto*,¹ another saith *Ecce in penetralibus*;² that is, when some men seek Christ in the conventicles of heretics, and others in an outward face of a church, that voice had need continually to sound in men's ears, *Nolite exire*,—*Go not out*.³ The Doctor of the Gentiles⁴ (the propriety⁵ of whose vocation⁶ drew him to have a special care of those without) saith, *If an heathen come in, and hear you speak with several tongues, will he not say that you are mad?*⁷ And certainly it is little better, when atheists and profane persons do hear of so many discordant and contrary opinions in religion; it doth avert⁸ them from the church, and maketh them *to sit down in the chair of the scorers*.⁹ It is but a light thing to be vouched¹⁰ in so serious a matter, but yet it expresseth well the deformity. There is a master of scoffing, that in his catalogue

¹ "Behold, he is in the desert." *Matthew xxiv. 26.*

² "Behold, he is in the secret chambers." *Matthew xxiv. 26.*

³ "Go not forth." *Matthew xxiv. 26.*

⁴ The Apostle Paul is the 'Doctor of the Gentiles.' In *Acts xxii. 21*, Paul relates how he was specially called to his apostleship among the Gentiles: "And he said unto me, Depart: for I will send thee far hence unto the Gentiles."

⁵ *Propriety. Peculiar quality, especial concern.*

⁶ *Vocation. Calling in life.*

⁷ "If therefore the whole church be come together into one place, and all speak with tongues, and there come in those that are unlearned, or unbelievers, will they not say that ye are mad?" *I. Corinthians xiv. 23.*

⁸ *Avert. To turn from; to repel.*

⁹ "Blessed is the man that walketh not in the counsel of the ungodly, nor standeth in the way of sinners, nor sitteth in the seat of the scornful." *Psalms i. 1.*

¹⁰ *Vouch. To bear witness to; to confirm.*

of books of a feigned library sets down this title of a book, *The morris-dance of Heretics*.¹ For indeed every sect of them hath a diverse² posture or cringe³ by themselves, which cannot but move derision in worldlings and depraved politics,⁴ who are apt to condemn holy things.

As for the fruit towards those that are within; it is peace; which containeth infinite blessings. It establisheth faith. It kindleth charity. The outward peace of the church distilleth into peace of conscience. And it turneth the labours of writing and reading of controversies into treatises of mortification and devotion.

Concerning the Bounds of Unity; the true placing of them importeth exceedingly.⁵ There appear to be two extremes. For to certain zelants⁶ all speech of pacification is odious. *Is it peace, Jehu? What hast*

¹ Bacon alludes to François Rabelais, born about 1483, died April 9, 1553. Among the books which Pantagruel, son of Gargantua, found in the Library of St. Victor in Paris was, *La Morisque des hérétiques*. (*Les Cinq Livres de F. Rabelais. Tome I. p. 255. Édition Jouaust. Paris. 1885.*) The morris, or morris-dance, is a dance performed with bells, castanets, or tambours. It comes from the Spanish *morisco*, a Moorish dance; from *moro*, a Moor.

² *Diverse. Different.* "And four great beasts came up from the sea, *diverse* one from another." *Daniel vii. 3.*

³ *Cringe.* A deferential, servile, or fawning obeisance; derisively, a bow. "Why should history go on kneeling to the end of time? I am for having her rise off her knees, and take a natural posture: not to be forever performing *cringes* and congees like a court-chamberlain, and shuffling backwards out of doors in the presence of the sovereign. In a word, I would have history familiar rather than heroic: and think that Mr. Hogarth and Mr. Fielding will give our children a much better idea of the manners of the present age in England, than the Court Gazette and the newspapers which we get thence." *Thackeray. Henry Esmond. I. 1.*

⁴ *Politics. Politicians.*

⁵ *Importeth exceedingly.* That is, in modern phrase, *is exceedingly important.*

⁶ *Zelants. Zealots.*

*thou to do with peace? turn thee behind me.*¹ Peace is not the matter, but following and party. Contrariwise, certain Laodiceans and lukewarm² persons think they may accommodate³ points of religion by middle ways, and taking part of both, and witty⁴ reconcilements; as if they would make an arbitrement⁵ between God and man. Both these extremes are to be avoided; which will be done, if the league of Christians penned by our Saviour himself were in the two cross clauses thereof soundly and plainly expounded: *He that is not with us is against us;*⁶ and again, *He that is not against us is with us;*⁷ that is, if the points fundamental and of substance in religion were truly discerned and distinguished from points not merely⁸ of faith, but of opinion, order, or good intention. This is a thing may seem to many a matter trivial, and done already. But if it were done less partially, it would be embraced more generally.

Of this I may give only this advice, according to my small model. Men ought to take heed of rend-

¹ "So there went one on horseback to meet him, and said, Thus saith the king, Is it peace? And Jehu said, What hast thou to do with peace? turn thee behind me." *II. Kings ix. 18.*

² "And unto the angel of the church of the Laodiceans write; . . . So then because thou art lukewarm, and neither cold nor hot, I will spue thee out of my mouth." *Revelation iii. 14, 16.*

³ *Accommodate. To adjust, reconcile (things or persons that differ); to bring into harmony or agreement.*

⁴ *Witty. Ingenious.*

⁵ *Arbitrement. Compromise, friendly agreement.*

⁶ "He that is not with me is against me." *Matthew xii. 30 and Luke xi. 23.*

⁷ "For he that is not against us is on our part." *Mark ix. 40.*

⁸ *Merely. Absolutely, wholly, completely.*

"I wish ye all content, and am as happy,

In my friend's good as if 't were merely mine."

Beaumont and Fletcher. The Honest Man's Fortune. v. 3.

ing God's church by two kinds of controversies. The one is, when the matter of the point controverted is too small and light, not worth the heat and strife about it, kindled only by contradiction. For as it is noted by one of the fathers, *Christ's coat indeed had no seam, but the church's vesture was of divers colours*;¹ whereupon he saith, *In veste varietas sit, scissura non sit*:² they be two things, Unity and Uniformity. The other is, when the matter of the point controverted is great, but it is driven to an over-great subtilty and obscurity; so that it becometh a thing rather ingenious than substantial. A man that is of judgment and understanding shall sometimes hear ignorant men differ, and know well within himself that those which so differ mean one thing, and yet they themselves would never agree. And if it come so to pass in that distance of judgment which is between man and man, shall we not³ think that God above, that knows the heart, doth not³ discern that frail men in some of their contradictions intend the same thing; and accepteth of⁴ both? The nature of such controversies is excel-

¹ The allusion is to *Psalms xlv. 14*. "She shall be brought unto the King in raiment of needlework," but the phrase in raiment of needlework is in the Vulgate, *circumamicta varietatibus*, 'enveloped with varieties.'

² Let there be many colors in the garment, but let there be no rending of it. *St. Bernard. Letter CCCXXXIV. To Guy of Pisa. Against the same Abaelard. Life and Works of Saint Bernard. Edited by Dom John Mabillon. Translated by Samuel J. Eales. II. 865.*

³ So in the original. One of the *nots* should obviously be struck out; the reader can choose which. S.

⁴ *Accept. To receive (a thing or person) with approval; frequently followed by 'of.'* "And ye say moreover, Behold, thy servant Jacob is behind us. For he said, I will appease him with the present that goeth before me, and afterward I will see his face; peradventure he will accept of me." *Genesis xxxii. 20.*

lently expressed by St. Paul in the warning and precept that he giveth concerning the same, *Devita profanas vocum novitates, et oppositiones falsi nominis scientiæ*:¹ Men create oppositions which are not; and put them into new terms so fixed, as² whereas the meaning ought to govern the term, the term in effect governeth the meaning. There be also two false peaces or unities: the one, when the peace is grounded but upon an implicit ignorance; for all colours will agree in the dark: the other, when it is pieced up upon a direct admission of contraries in fundamental points. For truth and falsehood, in such things, are like the iron and clay in the toes of Nabuchadnezzar's image;³ they may cleave, but they will not incorporate.

Concerning the Means of procuring Unity; men must beware, that in the procuring or muniting⁴ of religious unity they do not dissolve and deface the laws of charity and of human society. There be two swords amongst Christians, the spiritual and temporal; and both have their due office and place in the maintenance of religion. But we may not take up the third sword, which is Mahomet's sword, or like unto it; that is, to propagate religion by wars or by sanguinary persecutions to force consciences; except it be in the cases of overt scandal, blasphemy, or intermixture of practice against the state; much less to nourish seditions; to authorize

¹ "Avoid profane and vain babblings, and oppositions of science falsely so called." *I. Timothy vi. 20.*

² *As. That.*

³ "His legs of iron, his feet part of iron and part of clay." *Daniel ii. 33.*

⁴ *Muniting.* From the Latin *munio*, fortifying, strengthening.

conspiracies and rebellions; to put the sword into the people's hands; and the like; tending to the subversion of all government, which is the ordinance of God. For this is but to dash the first table against the second;¹ and so to consider men as Christians, as we forget that they are men. Lucretius the poet, when he beheld the act of Agamemnon,² that could endure the sacrificing of his own daughter, exclaimed:

Tantum Relligio potuit suadere malorum :³

What would he have said, if he had known of the massacre in France,⁴ or the powder treason⁵ of England? He would have been seven times more Epicure⁶ and atheist than he was. For as the temporal sword is to be drawn with great circumspection in

¹ "And it came to pass, as soon as he came nigh unto the camp, that he saw the calf, and the dancing: and Moses' anger waxed hot, and he cast the tables out of his hands, and broke them beneath the mount." *Exodus xxxii. 19.*

² Agamemnon, leader of the Greeks before Troy, made a vow to Artemis that he would offer up to her the dearest possession that came to him within the next twelvemonth. This happened to be a child, his daughter, Iphigeneia. When, some years later the Trojan fleet was wind-bound at Aulis, Calchas, the priest, said it was on account of the wrath of the goddess because Agamemnon had not kept his vow. Iphigeneia was thereupon bound to the altar to be sacrificed, but Artemis substituted a hind in her stead and carried off the maiden to Tauris to become her priestess. Note the likeness of the story to that of Abraham's sacrifice of Isaac, *Genesis xxii. 1-19*; and to Jephthah's vow, *Judges xi. 30-40.*

Iphigeneia's story was treated by Euripides, in his tragedy, *Iphigeneia in Tauris*, and by Goethe, in *Iphigenie auf Tauris*.

³ To ills so dire could religion prompt. *T. Lucreti Cari De Rerum Natura. Liber I. 101.*

⁴ The massacre of the Huguenots in France on St. Bartholomew's day, August 24, 1572, by the order of Charles IX. and his mother, Catharine de' Medici.

⁵ The Gunpowder Plot, of Guy Fawkes (1570-1606) and other conspirators, who proposed to blow up the House of Lords at the opening of Parliament, Nov. 5, 1605, when the King, the royal family, and the House of Commons would be present.

⁶ *Epicure. Epicurean.*

cases of religion; so it is a thing monstrous to put it into the hands of the common people. Let that be left unto the Anabaptists,¹ and other furies. It was great blasphemy when the devil said, *I will ascend and be like the Highest*;² but it is greater blasphemy to personate God, and bring him in saying, *I will descend, and be like the prince of darkness*: and what is it better, to make the cause of religion to descend to the cruel and execrable actions of murdering princes, butchery of people, and subversion of states and governments? Surely this is to bring down the Holy Ghost, instead of the likeness of a dove,³ in the shape of a vulture or raven; and set out of the bark of a Christian church a flag of a bark of pirates and assassins. Therefore it is most necessary that the church by doctrine and decree, princes by their sword, and all learnings, both Christian and moral, as by their Mercury rod,⁴ do damn and send to hell for ever those facts and opinions tending to the support of

¹ *Anabaptists*. The followers of John Matthiesen and John Bockold, or John of Leyden, who attempted to set up a socialistic kingdom of New Zion or Mount Zion at Münster in Westphalia, about 1530–1535. *Anabaptize* means to baptize again; an *Anabaptist* in the literal sense is one who believes in re-baptism, or adult baptism. Bacon compares the Anabaptists to furies from their vicious doctrines, one of which was polygamy.

² "I will ascend above the heights of the clouds; I will be like the most High." *Isaiah xiv. 14*. "For so we see, aspiring to be like God in power, the angels transgressed and fell; *Ascendam, et ero similis altissimo*." *Advancement of Learning. II. xxii. 15*.

³ "And Jesus, when he was baptized, went up straightway out of the water: and, lo, the heavens were opened unto him, and he saw the Spirit of God descending like a dove, and lighting upon him." *Matthew iii. 16*.

⁴ *Mercury rod*. The *caduceus*, a rod entwined with two serpents and surmounted by two wings. With it Mercury, the messenger of the gods, summoned souls to Hades.

the same; as hath been already in good part done. Surely in counsels concerning religion, that counsel of the apostle would¹ be prefixed, *Ira hominis non implet justitiam Dei*:² And it was a notable observation of a wise father, and no less ingenuously confessed; *that those which held and persuaded*³ *pressure of consciences were commonly interested*⁴ *therein themselves for their own ends.*

IV. OF REVENGE.

REVENGE is a kind of wild justice; which the more man's nature runs to, the more ought law to weed it out. For as for the first wrong, it doth but offend the law; but the revenge of that wrong putteth the law out of office. Certainly, in taking revenge, a man is but even with his enemy; but in passing it over, he is superior; for it is a prince's part to pardon. And Salomon, I am sure, saith, *It is the glory of a man to pass by an offence.*⁵ That which is past is gone, and irrevocable; and wise men have enough to do with things present and to come; therefore they do but trifle with themselves, that

¹ Would = should, as frequently in Elizabethan English.

² "For the wrath of man worketh not the righteousness of God." James i. 20.

³ Persuade. To commend a statement or opinion to acceptance; to inculcate. "And he went into the synagogue, and spake boldly for the space of three months, disputing, and persuading the things concerning the kingdom of God." Acts xix. 8.

⁴ Interested. Earlier form of interested.

⁵ "The discretion of a man deferreth his anger; and it is his glory to pass over a transgression." Proverbs xix. 11.

labour in past matters. There is no man doth a wrong for the wrong's sake; but thereby to purchase himself profit, or pleasure, or honour, or the like. Therefore why should I be angry with a man for loving himself better than me? And if any man should do wrong merely out of ill-nature, why, yet it is but like the thorn or briar, which prick and scratch, because they can do no other. The most tolerable sort of revenge is for those wrongs which there is no law to remedy; but then let a man take heed the revenge be such as there is no law to punish; else a man's enemy is still before hand, and it is two for one. Some, when they take revenge, are desirous the party should know whence it cometh. This the more generous. For the delight seemeth to be not so much in doing the hurt as in making the party repent. But base and crafty cowards are like the arrow that flieth in the dark.¹ Cosmus,² duke of Florence, had a desperate saying against perfidious or neglecting³ friends, as if those wrongs were unpardonable; *You shall read* (saith he) *that we are commanded to forgive our enemies,*⁴ *but you never read that we are commanded to forgive our friends.*

¹ "Thou shalt not be afraid for the terror by night, nor for the arrow that flieth by day." *Psalms xci. 5.*

² Cosimo de' Medici, *pater patriae*, 1389–1464, was a Florentine banker and statesman, and a munificent patron of literature and art. "Cosmos duke of Florence was wont to say of perfidious friends; *That we read that we ought to forgive our enemies; but we do not read that we ought to forgive our friends.*"

Bacon. Apophthegmes New and Old. 206 (92).

Maréchal Pierre de Villars, 1623–1698, is said to have taken leave of Louis XIV. with the witticism, "Defend me from my friends; I can defend myself from my enemies."

³ *Neglecting. Negligent, neglectful.*

⁴ "And forgive us our debts, as we forgive our debtors." *Matthew vi. 12.*

But yet the spirit of Job was in a better tune: *Shall we (saith he) take good at God's hands, and not be content to take evil also?*¹ And so of friends in a proportion. This is certain, that a man that studieth revenge keeps his own wounds green, which otherwise would heal and do well. Public revenges² are for the most part fortunate; as that for the death of Cæsar;³ for the death of Pertinax;⁴ for the death of Henry the Third⁵ of France; and many more. But in private revenges it is not so. Nay rather, vindictive persons live the life of witches; who, as they are mischievous, so end they infortunate.⁶

¹ "What? shall we receive good at the hand of God, and shall we not receive evil?" *Job ii. 10.*

² *Revenge. Vindications.* "And thus the whirligig of time brings in his *revenges*." *Shakspeare. Twelfth Night. v. 1.*

³ Julius Caesar, Roman general and dictator, born 100 B.C., was assassinated at a meeting of the Roman senate held on the Ides of March, 44 B.C. His great-nephew, Caius Octavius, then a youth of only nineteen, took it upon himself to avenge Caesar. With Mark Antony and Lepidus he formed the second triumvirate, which relentlessly pursued the assassins. When the republicans, Brutus and Cassius, fell upon their own swords after the defeat at Philippi, 42 B.C., most of them were gone. Philippi was the grave of the Roman republic.

⁴ The Emperor Pertinax was murdered by the Praetorian guards, March 28, 193 A.D., who then disposed of the crown at public auction to the highest bidder, Didius Julianus. Lucius Septimius Severus was the avenger of Pertinax. Gibbon says of his treatment of the Praetorian guards:

"A chosen part of the Illyrian army encompassed them with levelled spears. Incapable of flight or resistance, they expected their fate in silent consternation. Severus mounted the tribunal, sternly reproached them with perfidy and cowardice, dismissed them with ignominy from the trust which they had betrayed, despoiled them of their splendid ornaments, and banished them, on pain of death, to the distance of a hundred miles from the capital." *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire. Vol. I. Ch. V.*

⁵ Henry III., of France, was assassinated August 1, 1589, by a Jacobin monk, Jacques Clément.

⁶ The spirit of resentment, which is a sudden passion, is much commoner than that of revenge, a prolonged feud. Revenge is barbaric; the civilized man has too much to think about and to do to nurse a feud. "The fact is, I cannot *keep my resentments*,

V. OF ADVERSITY.¹

It was a high speech of Seneca (after the manner of the Stoics), *that the good things which belong to prosperity are to be wished; but the good things that belong to adversity are to be admired. Bona rerum secundarum optabilia; adversarum mirabilia.*² Certainly if miracles be the command over nature, they appear most in adversity. It is yet a higher speech of his than the other (much too high for a heathen), *It is true greatness to have in one the frailty of a man, and the security of a God. Vere magnum habere fragilitatem hominis, securitatem Dei.*³ This would have done better in poesy,⁴ where transcendences⁵

though violent enough in their onset." *Byron. Letter to Thomas Moore. March 6, 1822. The Works of Lord Byron. R. E. Prothero. Vol. VI. p. 35.*

"How happy might we be, and end our time with blessed days, and sweet content, if we could contain ourselves, and, as we ought to do, put up injuries, learn humility, meekness, patience, forget and forgive, (as in God's word we are enjoined), compose such small controversies amongst ourselves, moderate our passions in this kind, and think better of others (as Paul would have us) than of ourselves: be of like affection one towards another, and not avenge ourselves, but have peace with all men!" *Robert Burton. The Anatomy of Melancholy. Partition 1. Section 2. Member 3. Subsection 8. Edited by Rev. A. R. Shilleto, M.A., with an Introduction by A. H. Bullen. London. 1893.*

¹ This essay was first printed in the edition of 1625, after Bacon had experienced the height of prosperity as Lord Chancellor and the depth of adversity in his degradation and fall.

² *Illa bona optabilia, haec mirabilia sunt. L. Annaei Senecae ad Lucilium Epistularum Moralium Liber VII. Epistula IV. 29.*

³ *Ecce res magna, habere inbecillitatem hominis, securitatem dei. L. Annaei Senecae ad Lucilium Epistularum Moralium Liber VI. Epistula I. 12.*

⁴ *Poesy. Poetry.*

"Music and poesy use, to quicken you."

Shakspeare. The Taming of the Shrew. i. 1.

⁵ *Transcendence. Elevation, loftiness (of thought).*

are more allowed. And the poets indeed have been busy with it; for it is in effect the thing which is figured in that strange fiction of the ancient poets, which seemeth not to be without mystery;¹ nay, and to have some approach to the state of a Christian; that *Hercules, when he went to unbind Prometheus*,² (by whom human nature is represented), *sailed the length of the great ocean in an earthen pot or pitcher*; lively describing Christian resolution, that saileth in the frail bark of the flesh thorough the waves of the world. But to speak in a mean.³ The virtue of Prosperity is temperance; the virtue of Adversity is fortitude; which in morals is the more heroical virtue. Prosperity is the blessing of the Old Testament; Adversity is the blessing of the New; which carrieth the greater benediction, and the clearer revelation of God's favour. Yet even in the Old Testament, if you listen to David's harp, you shall hear as many hearse-like airs as carols; and the pencil of the Holy Ghost hath laboured more in

¹ *Mystery. Hidden meaning*, as in the word 'myth,' which is a fable containing elements of truth.

² Prometheus was the son of Iapetus, one of the Titans. He formed men of clay, and animated them with fire brought from heaven. For this Jupiter sent Mercury to bind him to the Caucasus, where a vulture preyed upon his liver until killed by Hercules. 'Prometheus' means 'the Foreknower,' as in Mrs. Browning's drama, *Prometheus Bound*,

"Unto me the foreknower."

W. M. Rossetti, in his *Memoir of Percy Bysshe Shelley*, p. 97, places Shelley's drama, *Prometheus Unbound*, 1820, "at the summit of all latter poetry." "It is the ideal poem of perpetual and triumphant progression—the Atlantis of Man Emancipated." *Prometheus; or the State of Man*, in *Of the Wisdom of the Ancients*, is Bacon's version of the myth of Prometheus.

³ To speak in a mean. To speak with moderation.

"the golden mean, and quiet flow,
Of truths that soften hatred, temper strife."

Wordsworth. *Ecclesiastical Sonnets. Part III. Sacheverel. 13-14.*

describing the afflictions of Job than the felicities¹ of Salomon. Prosperity is not without many fears and distastes; and Adversity is not without comforts and hopes. We see in needle-works and embroideries, it is more pleasing to have a lively work upon a sad² and solemn ground, than to have a dark and melancholy work upon a lightsome ground: judge therefore of the pleasure of the heart by the pleasure of the eye. Certainly virtue is like precious odours, most fragrant when they are incensed³ or crushed: for Prosperity doth best discover vice, but Adversity doth best discover virtue.

VI. OF SIMULATION⁴ AND DISSIMULATION.⁵

DISSIMULATION is but a faint kind of policy or wisdom; for it asketh a strong wit and a strong heart to know when to tell truth, and to do it. Therefore it is the weaker sort of politics that are the great dissemblers.

Tacitus saith, *Livia sorted well with the arts of her*

¹ *Felicities.* Prosperous circumstances, successes.

² *Sad.* Dark-colored. "This is a gentleman every inch of him, and a virtuoso, a clean virtuoso—a *sad*-coloured stand of claites, and a wig like the curled back of a mug-ewe." Scott. *The Monastery.* Introductory Epistle.

³ *Incensed.* Enkindled, set on fire. "The same Mr. Bettenham [Reader of Gray's Inn] said: *That virtuous men were like some herbs and spices, that give not their sweet smell, till they be broken and crushed.*" Bacon. *Apophthegmes New and Old.* 253.

⁴ *Simulation.* The act of simulating or feigning; pretense, usually for the purpose of deceiving.

⁵ *Dissimulation.* Deceit, hypocrisy.

husband and dissimulation of her son;¹ attributing arts or policy to Augustus, and dissimulation to Tiberius. And again, when Mucianus encourageth Vespasian to take arms against Vitellius,² he saith, *We rise not against the piercing judgment of Augustus, nor the extreme caution or closeness of Tiberius.*³ These properties, of arts or policy and dissimulation or closeness, are indeed habits and faculties several, and to be distinguished. For if a man have that penetration of judgment as⁴ he can discern what things are to be laid open, and what to be secreted, and what to be shewed at half lights, and to whom and when, (which indeed are arts of state and arts of life, as Tacitus well calleth them,) to him a habit of dissimulation is a hinderance and a poorness. But if a man cannot obtain⁵ to that judgment, then it is left to him generally to be close, and a dissembler. For where a man cannot choose or vary in particulars, there it is good to take the safest and wariest way in general; like the going softly, by one that cannot well see. Certainly the ablest men that ever were have had all an openness and frankness of dealing; and a name of certainty and veracity;

¹ *Mater impotens, uxor facilis et cum artibus mariti, simulatione filii bene composita*, as a mother imperious, as a wife compliant and well matched with the subtlety of her husband and the dissimulation of her son. *P. Cornelii Taciti Annalium Liber V. Fragmentum. Caput 1.* Cf. *Advancement of Learning. II. xxiii. 36.*

² Aulus Vitellius, 15–69 A.D., Roman emperor immediately before Vespasian.

³ *Non adversus divi Augusti acerrimam mentem, nec adversus cautissimam Tiberii senectutem, ne contra Gai quidem aut Claudii vel Neronis fundatam longo imperio domum exurgimus.* *Cornelii Taciti Historiarum Liber II. Caput 76.*

⁴ *As. That.*

⁵ *Obtain.* To attain to; to reach; to gain; intransitive, with 'to' or 'unto.'

but then they were like horses well managed; for they could tell passing well when to stop or turn; and at such times when they thought the case indeed required dissimulation, if then they used it, it came to pass that the former opinion spread abroad of their good faith and clearness of dealing made them almost invisible.

There be three degrees of this hiding and veiling of a man's self. The first, Closeness, Reservation, and Secrecy; when a man leaveth himself without observation, or without hold to be taken, what he is.¹ The second, Dissimulation, in the negative; when a man lets fall signs and arguments, that he is not that² he is. And the third, Simulation, in the affirmative; when a man industriously and expressly feigns and pretends to be that he is not.

For the first of these, Secrecy; it is indeed the virtue of a confessor. And assuredly the secret man heareth many confessions. For who will open himself to a blab or babbler? But if a man be thought secret, it inviteth discovery; as the more close air sucketh in the more open; and as in confession the revealing is not for worldly use, but for the ease of a man's heart, so secret men come to the knowledge of many things in that kind; while men rather dis-

¹ Before Milton set out on his Italian journey, he received a letter of advice from Sir Henry Wotton, then Provost of Eton. Wotton said that in Siena he had been "tabled in the house of one Alberto Scipioni, an old Roman courtier in dangerous times . . . and at my departure toward Rome (which had been the centre of his experience) I had won his confidence enough to beg his advice how I might carry myself there without offence of others or of mine own conscience. 'Signor Arrigo mio,' says he, '*I pensieri stretti ed il viso sciolto*' [honest thoughts and an open countenance] will go safely over the whole world.'"

² *That. What.*

charge their minds than impart their minds. In few words, mysteries are due to secrecy.¹ Besides (to say truth) nakedness is uncomely, as well in mind as body; and it addeth no small reverence to men's manners and actions, if they be not altogether open. As for talkers and futile² persons, they are commonly vain and credulous withal. For he that talketh what he knoweth, will also talk what he knoweth not. Therefore set it down, *that an habit of secrecy is both politic and moral*. And in this part it is good that a man's face give his tongue leave to speak. For the discovery of a man's self by the tracts³ of his countenance is a great weakness and betraying; by how much it is many times more marked and believed than a man's words.

For the second, which is Dissimulation; it followeth many times upon secrecy by a necessity; so that he that will be secret must be a dissembler in some degree. For men are too cunning to suffer a man to keep an indifferent⁴ carriage between both, and to be secret, without swaying the balance on either side. They will so beset a man with questions, and draw him on, and pick it out of him, that, without an absurd silence, he must show an inclination one way; or if he do not, they will gather as much by his silence as by his speech. As for equivocations, or oraculous⁵

¹ "A proper secrecy is the only mystery of able men: mystery the only secrecy of weak and cunning ones." *Maxims: Enclosed in Letter of January 15, 1753. The Letters of Philip Dormer Stanhope, Earl of Chesterfield, with the Characters. Edited with Introduction, Notes, and Index, by John Bradshaw. II. 572.*

² Futile. Talkative.

³ Tract. Trait, lineament, feature.

⁴ Indifferent. Impartial, neutral.

⁵ Oraculous. Oracular.

speeches, they cannot hold out long. So that no man can be secret, except he give himself a little scope of dissimulation; which is, as it were, but the skirts or train of secrecy.

But for the third degree, which is Simulation and false profession; that I hold more culpable, and less politic; except it be in great and rare matters. And therefore a general custom of simulation (which is this last degree) is a vice, rising either of a natural falseness or fearfulness, or of a mind that hath some main faults, which because a man must needs disguise, it maketh him practise simulation in other things, lest his hand should be out of use.

The great advantages of simulation and dissimulation are three. First, to lay asleep opposition, and to surprise. For where a man's intentions are published, it is an alarum to call up all that are against them. The second is, to reserve to a man's self a fair retreat. For if a man engage himself by a manifest declaration, he must go through or take a fall.¹ The third is, the better to discover the mind of another. For to him that opens himself men will hardly shew themselves adverse; but will (fair)² let him go on, and turn their freedom of speech to freedom of thought. And therefore it is a good shrewd proverb of the Spaniard, *Tell a lie and find a troth.*³ As if there were no way of discovery but by simulation. There be also three disadvantages,

¹ *Fall.* A bout at wrestling; to 'take a fall' is to be tripped, to be thrown.

² The Latin translation renders *fair* by *potius*, rather; the adverb *fairly* preserves the sense in the phrase *fairly well*—rather well.

³ This Spanish proverb will be found in the *Advancement of Learning*, II. xxiii. 18: "*Di mentira, y sacaras verdad.*"

to set it even. The first, that simulation and dissimulation commonly carry with them a shew of fearfulness, which in any business doth spoil the feathers of round¹ flying up to the mark. The second, that it puzzleth and perplexeth the conceits² of many, that perhaps would otherwise co-operate with him; and makes a man walk almost alone to his own ends. The third and greatest, is, that it depriveth a man of one of the most principal instruments for action; which is trust and belief. The best composition and temperature³ is to have openness in fame and opinion; secrecy in habit; dissimulation in seasonable use; and a power to feign, if there be no remedy.

VII. OF PARENTS AND CHILDREN.

THE joys of parents are secret; and so are their griefs and fears. They cannot utter the one; nor

¹ *Round. Direct.*

² *Conceit. Conception, idea, thought, notion.*

"Is it not monstrous, that this player here,
But in a fiction, in a dream of passion,
Could force his soul so to his own *conceit*,
That from her working all his visage wann'd;
Tears in his eyes, distraction in 's aspect,
A broken voice, and his whole function suiting
With forms to his *conceit*?"

Shakspeare. Hamlet. ii. 2.

³ *Temperature. Temperament, constitution.* Bacon uses the word 'temperature,' as also 'temper,' in the essay *Of Empire*, in the old physiological sense. A person's 'temperature' or 'temperament' was his 'mixture,' or, to put the idea in another way, his 'complexion' was his 'combination,' that is, of the four liquids or *humors*.

they will not¹ utter the other. Children sweeten labours; but they make misfortunes more bitter. They increase the cares of life; but they mitigate the remembrance of death. The perpetuity by generation is common to beasts; but memory, merit, and noble works, are proper to men. And surely a man shall see the noblest works and foundations² have proceeded from childless men; which have sought to express the images of their minds, where those of their bodies have failed. So the care of posterity is most in them that have no posterity. They that are the first raisers of their houses³ are most indulgent towards their children; beholding them as the continuance not only of their kind but of their work; and so both children and creatures.⁴

The difference in affection of parents towards their several children is many times unequal; and sometimes unworthy; especially in the mother; as Salomon saith, *A wise son rejoiceth the father, but an ungracious son shames the mother.*⁵ A man shall see, where there is a house full of children, one or two of the eldest respected, and the youngest made wantons;⁶ but in the midst some that are as it were forgotten, who many times nevertheless prove the best. The illiberality of parents in allowance

¹ *Nor will they not* means simply *nor will they*. It is the old English double negative used to strengthen the negation. Here the two negatives happen to make an affirmative, but that is by no means always the case, nor is the common statement of modern grammars that two negatives make an affirmative an adequate explanation of the idiom.

² *Foundations. Endowments, institutions, such as colleges, or hospitals.*

³ *Houses. Families of rank.*

⁴ *Creature. A created thing, animate or inanimate; a creation.*

⁵ *Proverbs x. 1.*

⁶ *Wantons. Spoiled children.*

towards their children is an harmful error; makes them base; acquaints them with shifts; makes them sort¹ with mean company; and makes them surfeit more when they come to plenty. And therefore the proof² is best, when men keep their authority towards their children, but not their purse. Men have a foolish manner (both parents and school-masters and servants) in creating and breeding an emulation between brothers during childhood, which many times sorteth³ to discord when they are men, and disturbeth families. The Italians make little difference between children and nephews or near kinsfolks; but so they be of the lump, they care not though they pass not through their own body. And to say truth, in nature it is much a like matter; insomuch that we see a nephew sometimes resembleth an uncle or a kinsman more than his own parents; as the blood happens. Let parents choose betimes the vocations and courses they mean their children should take; for then they are most flexible; and let them not too much apply themselves to the disposition of their children, as thinking they will take best to that which they have most mind to. It is true, that if the affections⁴ or apt-

¹ *Sort. Associate.*

"I will not sort you with the rest of my servants."

Shakspeare. Hamlet. ii. 2.

² *Proof. Things proved; fact, result.*

"But 't is a common proof,

That lowliness is young ambition's ladder."

Shakspeare. Julius Caesar. ii. 1.

³ *Sorteth. Sort here means to happen; to turn out.*

"Well, I am glad that all things sort so well."

Shakspeare. Much Ado About Nothing. v. 4.

⁴ *Affection. Disposition towards; inclination, bent.*

ness of the children be extraordinary, then it is good not to cross it; but generally the precept is good, *optimum elige, suave et facile illud faciet consuetudo*.¹ Younger brothers are commonly fortunate, but seldom or never where the elder are disinherited.

VIII. OF MARRIAGE AND SINGLE LIFE.

HE that hath wife and children hath given hostages to fortune; for they are impediments to great enterprises, either of virtue or mischief. Certainly the best works, and of greatest merit for the public, have proceeded from the unmarried or childless men; which both in affection and means have married and endowed the public. Yet it were great reason that those that have children should have greatest care of future times; unto which they know they must transmit their dearest pledges. Some there are, who though they lead a single life, yet their thoughts do end with themselves, and account future times impertinences.² Nay, there are some

¹ Choose the best, and custom will make it pleasant and easy. A saying of Pythagoras, quoted by Plutarch, *De Exilio*. 8.

"Maxims to make one get up:

1st. *Optimum eligete, et consuetudo faciet jucundissimum.*

2d. I must get up at last, it will be as difficult then as now.

3d. By getting up I gain health, knowledge, temper, and animal spirits."

A *Memoir of the Reverend Sydney Smith*. By his Daughter, Lady Holland. Edited by Mrs. Austin. Vol. I. p. 171 (Third edition. 1855).

² *Impertinences*. Latin sense of the word, *things irrelevant*.

"O, matter and *impertinency* mixed!

Reason is madness!"

Shakspeare. King Lear. iv. 6.

other that account wife and children but as bills of charges. Nay more, there are some foolish rich covetous men, that take a pride in having no children, because¹ they may be thought so much the richer. For perhaps they have heard some talk, *Such an one is a great rich man*, and another except to it, *Yea, but he hath a great charge of children*; as if it were an abatement to his riches. But the most ordinary cause of a single life is liberty, especially in certain self-pleasing and humorous² minds, which are so sensible of every restraint, as they will go near to think their girdles and garters to be bonds and shackles. Unmarried men are best friends, best masters, best servants; but not always best subjects; for they are like to run away; and almost all fugitives are of that condition. A single life doth well with churchmen;³ for charity will hardly water the ground where it must first fill a pool. It is indifferent for judges and magistrates; for if they be facile and corrupt, you shall have a servant five times worse than a wife. For soldiers, I find the generals commonly in their hortatives put men in mind of their wives and children;⁴ and I think the despising of marriage amongst the Turks maketh the vulgar soldier more base. Certainly wife and children are a kind of discipline of humanity; and sin-

¹ *Because. In order that.*

² *Humorous. Controlled by humors; whimsical, capricious.*

"As humorous as winter."

Shakspeare. II. King Henry IV. iv. 4.

³ *Churchmen. Clergymen.*

⁴ *"Strike—for your altars and their fires;
Strike—for the green graves of your sires;
God—and your native land!"*

Fitz-Greene Halleck. Marco Bozzaris.

gle men, though they may be many times more charitable, because their means are less exhaust,¹ yet, on the other side, they are more cruel and hardhearted, (good to make severe inquisitors,) because their tenderness is not so oft called upon. Grave natures, led by custom, and therefore constant, are commonly loving husbands; as was said of Ulysses,² *vetulam suam prætulit immortalitati*.³ Chaste women are often proud and froward, as presuming upon the merit of their chastity. It is one of the best bonds both of chastity and obedience in the wife, if she think her husband wise; which she will never do if she find him jealous. Wives are young men's mistresses; companions for middle age; and old men's nurses. So as a man may have a quarrel,⁴ to marry when he will. But yet he was reputed one of the wise men, that made answer to the question when a man should marry?—*A young man not yet,*

¹ *Exhaust*. Condensed preterit for *exhausted*. The form is common in the Bible and in Shakspeare.

"Our State to be *disjoint* and out of frame."

Shakspeare. Hamlet. i. 2.

² Ulysses (Greek, Odysseus), in Greek legend a king of Ithaca and one of the heroes of the Trojan war. The *Odyssey*, an epic poem attributed to Homer, celebrates the adventures of Odysseus during ten years of wandering spent in repeated efforts to return to Ithaca after the close of the Trojan war.

³ He preferred his aged wife to immortality. The goddess Calypso entreated Ulysses to share her immortality, instead of returning to Ithaca. Compare the *Advancement of Learning* I. viii. 7: "Ulysses, *qui vetulam prætulit immortalitati* being a figure of those which prefer custom and habit before all excellency." The thought is Plutarch's, *Opera Moralia. Gryllus. 1*. Plutarch took it from Cicero, *De Oratore. I. 44*.

⁴ *Quarrel. Cause, reason.*

"and the chance of goodness
Be like our warranted *quarrel*!"

Shakspeare. Macbeth. iv. 3.

This means, 'May the success of right be as well warranted as our cause is just!'

*an elder man not at all.*¹ It is often seen that bad husbands have very good wives; whether it be that it raiseth the price of their husband's kindness when it comes; or that the wives take a pride in their patience. But this never fails, if the bad husbands were of their own choosing, against their friends' consent; for then they will be sure to make good their own folly.

IX. OF ENVY.

THERE be none of the affections which have been noted to fascinate or bewitch, but love and envy. They both have vehement wishes; they frame themselves readily into imaginations and suggestions; and they come easily into the eye, especially upon the presence of the objects; which are the points that conduce to fascination, if any such thing there be. We see likewise the scripture calleth envy an *evil eye*; and the astrologers call the evil influences of the stars *evil aspects*; so that still there seemeth to be acknowledged, in the act of envy, an ejaculation² or irradiation of the eye. Nay some have been so curious as to note, that the times when the

¹ This epigrammatic reply is quoted of Thales of Miletus, 640-546 B.C., one of the 'seven wise men' of Greece. The anecdote is told by Plutarch, *Opera Moralia. Symposiaca. III. vi. 3.* (*Plutarch's Miscellanies and Essays. Edited by W. W. Goodwin, with an Introduction by Ralph Waldo Emerson. Vol. III. p. 276.*) "Thales being asked when a man should marry, said: "Young men not yet, old men not at all." Bacon. *Apophthegmes New and Old.* 220.

² Ejaculation. The art of throwing or darting out.

stroke or percussion of an envious eye doth most hurt, are when the party envied is beheld in glory or triumph; for that sets an edge upon envy: and besides, at such times the spirits of the person envied do come forth most into the outward parts, and so meet the blow.

But leaving these curiosities,¹ (though not unworthy to be thought on in fit place), we will handle,² what persons are apt to envy others; what persons are most subject to be envied themselves; and what is the difference between public and private envy.

A man that hath no virtue in himself, ever envieth virtue in others. For men's minds will either feed upon their own good or upon others' evil; and who³ wanteth the one will prey upon the other; and whoso is out of hope to attain to another's virtue, will seek to come at even hand by depressing another's fortune.

A man that is busy and inquisitive is commonly envious. For to know much of other men's matters cannot be because all that ado⁴ may concern his own estate; therefore it must needs be that he taketh a kind of play-pleasure⁵ in looking upon the fortunes of others. Neither can he that mindeth but his own business find much matter for envy. For envy is a gadding passion, and walketh the streets, and doth

¹ *Curiosities. Niceties.*

² *Handle. To treat, or discourse on.*

³ *Who. He who.*

⁴ *Ado. Fuss; difficulty.* In Norse the infinitive was *at do*, where the English says *to do*. Compare Shakspeare's title, 'Much Ado About Nothing.'

⁵ *Play-pleasure* is the pleasure of one looking on at a play.

not keep home: *Non est curiosus, quin idem sit malevolus.*¹

Men of noble birth are noted to be envious towards new men when they rise. For the distance is altered; and it is like a deceit of the eye, that when others come on they think themselves go back.

Deformed persons, and eunuchs, and old men, and bastards, are envious. For he that cannot possibly mend his own case will do what he can to impair another's; except these defects light upon a very brave and heroical nature, which thinketh to make his natural wants part of his honour; in that it should be said, that an eunuch, or a lame man, did such great matters; affecting the honour of a miracle; as it was in Narses² the eunuch, and Agesilaus and Tamberlanes,³ that were lame men.

The same is the case of men that rise after calamities and misfortunes. For they are as men fallen out with the times; and think other men's harms a redemption of their own sufferings.

They that desire to excel in too many matters, out of levity and vain glory, are ever envious. For they cannot want work;⁴ it being impossible but many in some one of those things should surpass

¹ No one is curious without being also malevolent. The thought of the spite and malignity of idle curiosity is uppermost in Plutarch's essay, *Of Curiosity, or on Over-Busy Inquisitiveness into Things Impertinent*. *Plutarch's Morals* (Vol. II. pp. 424-445. Ed. W. W. Goodwin).

² Narses 478(?)–573(?) A.D., a general of the Byzantine empire, joint commander in Italy with Belisarius, 538–539.

³ Timur, or Timour, or Timur Bey, also called Timur-Leng (Timur the Lame), corrupted into Tamerlane, 1333–1405. Tamerlane was a Tatar conqueror who overran the provinces of Asia from Delhi to Damascus, and from the Sea of Aral to the Persian Gulf.

⁴ i.e. Matter for envy to work upon: *ubique enim occurrunt obiecta invidiæ*. S.

them. Which was the character of Adrian¹ the Emperor; that mortally envied poets and painters and artificers, in works wherein he had a vein² to excel.

Lastly, near kinsfolks, and fellows in office, and those that have been bred together, are more apt to envy their equals when they are raised. For it doth upbraid unto them their own fortunes, and pointeth at them, and cometh oftener into their remembrance, and incurreth³ likewise more into the note of others; and envy ever redoubleth from speech and fame. Cain's envy was the more vile and malignant towards his brother Abel, because when his sacrifice was better accepted there was no body to look on. Thus much for those that are apt to envy.

Concerning those that are more or less subject to envy: First, persons of eminent virtue, when they are advanced, are less envied. For their fortune seemeth but due unto them; and no man envieth the payment of a debt, but rewards and liberality rather. Again, envy is ever joined with a comparing of a man's self; and where there is no comparison, no envy; and therefore kings are not envied but by kings. Nevertheless it is to be noted that unworthy persons are most envied at their first coming in, and afterwards overcome it better; whereas contrariwise,⁴ persons of worth and merit

¹ Publius Aelius Hadrianus, 76–138, Roman emperor from 117 to 138 A.D. Bacon is quoting Spartian. *Aelii Spartiani Adrianus Imperator ad Diocletianum Augustum*. xv., in *Historiae Augustae Scriptores*.

² Vein. *Humor*.

"I 'm glad to see you in this merry vein."

Shakspeare. The Comedy of Errors. ii. 2.

³ *Incur. To run or rush into, Latin sense.*

⁴ *Contrariwise. On the contrary.*

are most envied when their fortune continueth long. For by that time, though their virtue be the same, yet it hath not the same lustre; for fresh men grow up that darken it.

Persons of noble blood are less envied in their rising. For it seemeth but right done to their birth. Besides, there seemeth not much added to their fortune; and envy is as the sunbeams, that beat hotter upon a bank or steep rising ground, than upon a flat. And for the same reason those that are advanced by degrees are less envied than those that are advanced suddenly and *per saltum*.¹

Those that have joined with their honour great travels, cares, or perils, are less subject to envy. For men think that they earn their honours hardly, and pity them sometimes; and pity ever healeth envy. Wherefore you shall observe that the more deep and sober sort of politic persons, in their greatness, are ever bemoaning themselves, what a life they lead; chanting a *quanta patimur*.² Not that they feel it so, but only to abate the edge of envy. But this is to be understood of business that is laid upon men, and not such as they call unto themselves. For nothing increaseth envy more than an unnecessary and ambitious engrossing of business. And nothing doth extinguish envy more than for a great person to preserve all other inferior officers in their full rights and preëminences of their places. For by that means there be so many screens between him and envy.

¹ At one bound.

² How much we suffer!

Above all, those are most subject to envy, which carry the greatness of their fortunes in an insolent and proud manner; being never well but while they are shewing how great they are, either by outward pomp, or by triumphing over all opposition or competition; whereas wise men will rather do sacrifice to envy, in suffering themselves sometimes of¹ purpose to be crossed and overborne in things that do not much concern them. Notwithstanding so much is true, that the carriage of greatness in a plain and open manner (so it be without arrogancy² and vain glory) doth draw less envy than if it be in a more crafty and cunning fashion. For in that course a man doth but disavow fortune; and seemeth to be conscious of his own want in worth; and doth but teach others to envy him.

Lastly, to conclude this part; as we said in the beginning that the act of envy had somewhat in it of witchcraft, so there is no other cure of envy but the cure of witchcraft; and that is, to remove the *lot* (as they call it) and to lay it upon another. For which purpose, the wiser sort of great persons bring in ever upon the stage somebody upon whom to derive³ the envy that would come upon themselves; sometimes upon ministers and servants; sometimes upon colleagues and associates; and the like; and for that turn there are never wanting some persons of violent and undertaking⁴ natures, who, so they

¹ *Of. With.* *Of purpose* means *with purpose or intention, intentionally.*

² *Arrogancy.* *Arrogance.* "The fear of the Lord is to hate evil: pride, and arrogancy, and the evil way, and the froward mouth, do I hate." *Proverbs viii. 13.*

³ *Derive.* *To divert, or turn the course of.*

⁴ *Undertaking.* *Enterprising.*

may have power and business, will take it at any cost.

Now, to speak of public envy. There is yet some good in public envy, whereas in private there is none. For public envy is as an ostracism, that eclipseth men when they grow too great. And therefore it is a bridle also to great ones, to keep them within bounds.

This envy, being in the Latin word *invidia*, goeth in the modern languages by the name of *discontentment*; of which we shall speak in handling Sedition. It is a disease in a state like to infection. For as infection spreadeth upon that which is sound, and tainteth it; so when envy is gotten once into a state, it traduceth even the best actions thereof, and turneth them into an ill odour. And therefore there is little won by intermingling of plausible¹ actions. For that doth argue but a weakness and fear of envy, which hurteth so much the more; as it is likewise usual in infections; which if you fear them, you call them upon you.

This public envy seemeth to beat chiefly upon principal officers or ministers, rather than upon kings and estates themselves. But this is a sure rule, that if the envy upon the minister be great, when the cause of it in him is small; or if the envy be general in a manner upon all the ministers of an estate; then the envy (though hidden) is truly upon the state itself. And so much of public envy or discontentment, and the difference thereof from private envy, which was handled in the first place.

¹ *Plausible. Deserving of applause.*

We will add this in general, touching the affection of envy; that of all other affections it is the most importune and continual. For of other affections there is occasion given but now and then; and therefore it was well said, *invidia festos dies non agit*:¹ for it is ever working upon some or other. And it is also noted that love and envy do make a man pine, which other affections do not, because they are not so continual. It is also the vilest affection, and the most depraved; for which cause it is the proper attribute of the devil, who is called *The envious man, that soweth tares amongst the wheat by night*;² as it always cometh to pass, that envy worketh subtilly, and in the dark; and to the prejudice of good things, such as is the wheat.

X. OF LOVE.

THE stage is more beholding³ to Love, than the life of man. For as to the stage, love is ever matter of comedies, and now and then of tragedies; but in life it doth much mischief; sometimes like a syren, sometimes like a fury. You may observe, that amongst all the great and worthy persons (whereof the memory remaineth, either ancient or recent), there is not

¹ Envy keeps no holidays.

² "But while men slept, his enemy came and sowed tares among the wheat, and went his way." *Matthew xiii. 25.*

³ *Beholding.* Beholden. A common Elizabethan error. "A justice of peace sometime may be beholding to his friend for a man." *Shakspeare. The Merry Wives of Windsor. i. 1.*

one that hath been transported to the mad degree of love: which shews that great spirits and great business do keep out this weak passion. You must except nevertheless Marcus Antonius,¹ the half partner of the empire of Rome, and Appius Claudius,² the decemvir and lawgiver; whereof the former was indeed a voluptuous man, and inordinate; but the latter was an austere and wise man: and therefore it seems (though rarely) that love can find entrance not only into an open heart, but also into a heart well fortified, if watch be not well kept. It is a poor saying of Epicurus, *Satis magnum alter alteri theatrum sumus*:³ as if man, made for the contemplation of heaven and all noble objects, should do nothing but kneel before a little idol, and make himself a subject, though not of the mouth (as beasts are), yet of the eye; which was given him for higher purposes. It is a strange thing to note the excess of this passion, and how it braves the nature and value of things, by this; that the speaking in a perpetual hyperbole is comely in nothing but in love. Neither is it merely in the phrase; for whereas it hath been well said that the arch-flatterer, with whom

¹ Marcus Antonius, 83–30 B.C., Roman triumvir and general. Antony's love story is best told by Shakspeare in *The Tragedy of Antony and Cleopatra*.

² Appius Crassus Claudius was one of the decemvirs, 451–449 B.C. The tragical story of *Appius and Virginia*, first told by Livy, reappears, in English, in *The Doctor's Tale* of Chaucer, in Gower's *Confessio Amantis*, and in three different tragedies, one written by John Webster in Bacon's time.

³ We are to one another a spectacle great enough. Epicurus, 342–270 B.C., was the founder of the Epicurean philosophy which took pleasure to be the highest good. Bacon quotes the saying of Epicurus from *L. Annaei Senecae ad Lucilium Epistularum Moralium Liber I. Epistula VII. 11*. The quotation occurs again in the *Advancement of Learning. I. iii. 7*.

all the petty flatterers have intelligence, is a man's self;¹ certainly the lover is more. For there was never proud man thought so absurdly well of himself as the lover doth of the person loved; and therefore it was well said, *That it is impossible to love and to be wise.*² Neither doth this weakness appear to others only, and not to the party loved; but to the loved most of all, except the love be reciproque.³ For it is a true rule, that love is ever rewarded either with the reciproque or with an inward and secret contempt. By how much the more men ought to beware of this passion, which loseth not only other things, but itself. As for the other losses, the poet's relation doth well figure them; That he that preferred Helena, quitted the gifts of Juno and Pallas. For whosoever esteemeth too much of amorous affection quitteth both riches and wisdom. This passion hath his floods in the very times of weakness; which are great prosperity and great adversity; though this latter hath been less observed; both which times kindle love, and make it more fervent, and therefore shew it to be the child of folly.⁴ They do best, who if they cannot but admit love, yet make it keep quarter;⁴ and sever it wholly from their serious affairs and actions of life; for if it check⁵ once with business, it troubleth men's fortunes, and maketh men that they can no ways⁶ be

¹ Plutarch. *De adulate et amico.* 1.

² *Amare et sapere vix Deo conceditur.* It is hardly granted by God to love and to be wise. *Publilius Syri Mimi Sententiae.* 15.

³ *Reciproque.* Reciprocal.

⁴ *Quarter.* Proper or appointed place; now used in the plural, 'quarters.'

⁵ *Check with.* Interfere with.

⁶ *Way.* Wise; no ways means in no wise.

true to their own ends. I know not how, but martial men are given to love: I think it is but as they are given to wine; for perils commonly ask to be paid in pleasures. There is in man's nature a secret inclination and motion towards love of others, which if it be not spent upon some one or a few, doth naturally spread itself towards many, and maketh men become humane and charitable; as it is seen sometime in friars. Nuptial love maketh mankind; friendly love perfecteth it; but wanton love corrupteth and embaseth it.

XI. OF GREAT PLACE.

MEN in great place are thrice servants: servants of the sovereign or state; servants of fame; and servants of business. So as they have no freedom; neither in their persons, nor in their actions, nor in their times. It is a strange desire, to seek power and to lose liberty: or to seek power over others and to lose power over a man's self. The rising unto place is laborious; and by pains men come to greater pains; and it is sometimes base; and by indignities¹ men come to

¹ *Indignity. Conduct involving shame or disgrace; a disgraceful act.*

"Fie on the pelfe for which good name is sold,
And honour with indignity debased."

Spenser. The Faery Queene. Book V. Canto xi. Stanza 63.

"Whoever is apt to hope good from others is diligent to please them; but he that believes his powers strong enough to force their own way, commonly tries only to please himself." *Dr. Samuel Johnson. Lives of the English Poets. John Gay.*

dignities. The standing is slippery, and the regress is either a downfall, or at least an eclipse, which is a melancholy thing. *Cum non sis qui fueris, non esse cur velis vivere.*¹ Nay, retire men cannot when they would, neither will they when it were reason;² but are impatient of privateness,³ even in age and sickness, which require the shadow;⁴ like old townsmen that will be still sitting at their street door, though thereby they offer age to scorn. Certainly great persons had need to borrow other men's opinions, to think themselves happy; for if they judge by their own feeling, they cannot find it: but if they think with themselves what other men think of them, and that other men would fain be as they are, then they are happy as it were by report; when perhaps they find the contrary within.⁵ For they are the first that find their own griefs, though they be the last that find their own faults. Certainly men in great fortunes are strangers to themselves, and while they are in the puzzle of business they have no time to tend their health either of body or mind. *Illi mors gravis incubat, qui notus nimis*

¹ Since you are not what you were, there is no reason why you should wish to live. *M. Tullii Ciceronis Epistolarum ad Familiares Liber VII. iii. (Ad Marium).*

² *Reason.* Reasonable; the idiom is French, and was frequent in English from about 1400 to 1650, though now rare. "And the twelve called the multitude of the disciples unto them, and said, It is not *reason* that we should leave the word of God, and serve tables." *Acts vi. 2.*

³ *Privateness.* Privacy, retirement.

⁴ *Shadow.* Shade, retirement.

"Old politicians chew on wisdom past,
And totter on in business to the last."

Pope. Epistle I. 11. 228-229.

⁵ "He who looks for applause from without has all his happiness in another's keeping." *Oliver Goldsmith. The Good-natured Man. v.*

*omnibus, ignotus moritur sibi.*¹ In place there is license to do good and evil; whereof the latter is a curse: for in evil the best condition is not to will; the second not to can.² But power to do good is the true and lawful end of aspiring. For good thoughts (though God accept them) yet towards men are little better than good dreams, except they be put in act; and that cannot be without power and place, as the vantage and commanding ground. Merit and good works is the end of man's motion; and conscience³ of the same is the accomplishment of man's rest. For if a man can be partaker of God's theatre, he shall likewise be partaker of God's rest. *Et conversus Deus, ut aspiceret opera quæ fecerunt manus suæ, vidit quod omnia essent bona nimis;*⁴ and then the sabbath. In the discharge of thy place set before thee the best examples; for imitation is a globe⁵ of precepts. And after a time set before thee thine own example; and examine thyself strictly whether thou didst not best at first.

¹ Death presses heavily upon him who dies known too well by all, but unknown to himself. *Seneca. Thyestes. XI. 401-403.*

² *Can. To know;* the verb is independent and bears its original meaning.

"She could the Bible in the holy tongue."

Ben Jonson. The Magnetic Lady. i. 5.

³ *Conscience. Consciousness.*

"Her virtue and the conscience of her worth."

Milton. Paradise Lost. VIII. 502.

⁴ And God, turning, looked upon the works which his hands had made and saw that all were very good. Bacon has here put into his own Latin *Genesis i. 31*: "And God saw every thing that he had made, and, behold, it was very good." *Viditque Deus cuncta quæ fecerat: et erant valde bona, the Vulgate reads.*

⁵ *Globe. Circle.*

"him round

A globe of fiery seraphim enclos'd

With bright emblazonry."

Milton. Paradise Lost. II. 511-513.

Neglect not also the examples of those that have carried themselves ill in the same place; not to set off thyself by taxing their memory, but to direct thyself what to avoid. Reform therefore, without bravery¹ or scandal of former times and persons; but yet set it down to thyself as well to create good precedents as to follow them. Reduce things to the first institution, and observe wherein and how they have degenerate; but yet ask counsel of both times; of the ancient time, what is best; and of the latter time, what is fittest. Seek to make thy course regular,² that men may know beforehand what they may expect; but be not too positive and peremptory; and express thyself well when thou digressest from thy rule. Preserve the right of thy place; but stir not questions of jurisdiction: and rather assume thy right in silence and *de facto*,³ than voice it with claims and challenges. Preserve likewise the rights of inferior places; and think it more honour to direct in chief than to be busy in all. Embrace and invite helps and advices touching the execution of thy place; and do not drive away such as bring thee information, as meddlers; but except of them in good part. The vices of authority are chiefly four; delays, corruption, roughness, and facility.⁴ For

¹ *Bravery. Rashness.*

² *Regular. Governed by rules, consistent, steady.*

³ *De facto. As a matter of fact.*

⁴ *Facility. Lack of firmness, pliability.* "No man is fit to govern great societies who hesitates about disobliging the few who have access to him for the sake of the many whom he will never see. The *facility* of Charles was such as has perhaps never been found in any man of equal sense." *Macaulay. History of England. Vol. I. Chap. II. Character of Charles II.*

delays; give easy access; keep times appointed; go through with that which is in hand, and interlace not business but of necessity. For corruption; do not only bind thine own hands or thy servants' hands from taking, but bind the hands of suitors also from offering. For integrity used doth the one; but integrity professed, and with a manifest detestation of bribery, doth the other. And avoid not only the fault, but the suspicion. Whosoever is found variable, and changeth manifestly without manifest cause, giveth suspicion of corruption. Therefore always when thou changest thine opinion or course, profess it plainly, and declare it, together with the reasons that move thee to change; and do not think to steal¹ it. A servant or a favourite, if he be inward,² and no other apparent cause of esteem, is commonly thought but a by-way to close³ corruption. For roughness; it is a needless cause of discontent: severity breedeth fear, but roughness breedeth hate. Even reproofs from authority ought to be grave, and not taunting. As for facility; it is worse than bribery. For bribes come but now and then; but if importunity or idle respects⁴

¹ *Steal.* To conceal.

"'T were good, methinks, to *steal* our marriage."

Shakspeare. The Taming of the Shrew. iii. 2.

² *Inward.* Intimate, confidential.

"For what is *inward* between us, let it pass."

Shakspeare. Love's Labour's Lost. v. 1.

³ *Close.* Secret; of persons, *secretive*, *sly*.

"*Close* villain, I

Will have this secret from thy heart, or rip

Thy heart to find it."

Shakspeare. Cymbeline. iii. 5.

⁴ *Respects.* Considerations.

"But the *respects* thereof are nice and trivial."

Shakspeare. King Richard III. iii. 7.

lead a man, he shall never be without. As Salomon saith, *To respect persons is not good; for such a man will transgress for a piece of bread.*¹ It is most true that was anciently spoken, *A place sheweth the man.* And it sheweth some to the better, and some to the worse. *Omnium consensu capax imperii, nisi imperasset,*² saith Tacitus of Galba; but of Vespasian he saith, *Solus imperantium, Vespasianus mutatus in melius:*³ though the one was meant of sufficiency,⁴ the other of manners and affection. It is an assured sign of a worthy and generous spirit, whom honour amends. For honour is, or should be, the place of virtue; and as in nature things move violently to their place and calmly in their place, so virtue in ambition is violent, in authority settled and calm.⁵ All rising to great place is by a winding stair; and if there be factions, it is good to side a man's self whilst he is in the rising, and to balance himself when he is placed. Use the memory of thy predecessor fairly

¹ *Proverbs xxviii. 21.* In the *Advancement of Learning, II. xliii. 6*, Bacon quotes this proverb from the *Vulgate*, and goes right on with the distinction just made here, that facility is worse than bribery: "*Qui cognoscit in iudicio faciem, non bene facit; iste et pro buccella panis deseret veritatem.*" Here is noted, that a judge were better be a briber than a respecter of persons; for a corrupt judge offendeth not so lightly as a facile."

² If he had not governed, all would have thought him capable of governing. *Cornelii Taciti Historiarum Liber I. Caput 49.*

³ Vespasian alone as emperor changed for the better. *Et ambigua de Vespasiano fama solusque omnium ante se principum in melius mutatus est.* *Cornelii Taciti Historiarum Liber I. Caput 50.* In the *Advancement of Learning, II. xlii. 5*, Bacon quotes Tacitus's criticism of Vespasian again, *Solus Vespasianus mutatus in melius.*

⁴ *Sufficiency.* *De arte imperatoria*, in the Latin text, that is, *ability.*

⁵ "So that it is no marvel though the soul so placed enjoy no rest, if that principle be true, that *Motus rerum est rapidus extra locem, placidus in loco.*" *Advancement of Learning, II. x. 2.*

and tenderly; for if thou dost not, it is a debt will sure be paid when thou art gone. If thou have colleagues, respect them, and rather call them when they look not for it, than exclude them when they have reason to look to be called. Be not too sensible or too remembering of thy place in conversation and private answers to suitors; but let it rather be said, *When he sits in place he is another man.* X

XII. OF BOLDNESS.

It is a trivial grammar-school text, but yet worthy a wise man's consideration. Question was asked of Demosthenes,¹ *what was the chief part of an orator?* he answered, *action*: what next? *action*: what next again? *action*. He said it that knew it best, and had by nature himself no advantage in that he commended. A strange thing, that that part of an orator which is but superficial, and rather the virtue of a player, should be placed so high, above those other noble parts of invention, elocution, and the rest; nay almost alone, as if it were all in all. But the reason is plain. There is in human nature generally more of the fool than of the wise; and therefore those faculties by which the foolish part of men's minds is taken are most potent. Wonderful like is the case of Boldness, in civil business;

¹ Demosthenes, born 384 or 385, died 322 B.C., the greatest Greek orator. His best orations are the three *Philippics*, 351, 344, and 341 B.C., and the famous speech, *On the Crown*, 330 B.C.

what first? Boldness: what second and third? Boldness. And yet boldness is a child of ignorance and baseness, far inferior to other parts. But nevertheless it doth fascinate and bind hand and foot those that are either shallow in judgment or weak in courage, which are the greatest part; yea and prevaieth with wise men at weak times. Therefore we see it hath done wonders in popular states; but with senates and princes less; and more ever upon the first entrance of bold persons into action than soon after; for boldness is an ill keeper of promise. Surely as there are mountebanks¹ for the natural body, so are there mountebanks for the politic² body; men that undertake great cures, and perhaps have been lucky in two or three experiments, but want the grounds of science, and therefore cannot hold out. Nay you shall see a bold fellow many times do Mahomet's miracle. Mahomet³ made the people believe that he would call an hill to him, and from the top of it offer up his prayers for the observers of his law. The people assembled; Mahomet called the hill to come to him, again and again; and when the hill stood still, he was never a whit⁴ abashed, but said, *If the hill will not come to Mahomet, Mahomet will go to the hill.* So these men, when they have promised great matters and failed most shame-

¹ *Mountebank.* A quack doctor who *mounts a bench* or platform to sell his wares. Ben Jonson gives a good description of an Elizabethan mountebank in his satirical comedy, *Volpone*. ii. 1.

² *Politic.* *Political.*

³ Mohammed, or Mahomet, 'the praised one,' 570-632 A.D., founder of Mohammedanism, or Islam ('surrender,' namely, to God).

⁴ *Whit.* *The smallest part; a jot, tittle, or iota:* often used adverbially, and generally with a negative. "For I suppose I was not a *whit* behind the very chiefest apostles." II. *Corinthians xi. 5.*

fully, yet (if they have the perfection of boldness) they will but slight it over, and make a turn, and no more ado. Certainly to men of great judgment, bold persons are a sport to behold; nay and to the vulgar also, boldness has somewhat of the ridiculous. For if absurdity be the subject of laughter, doubt you not but great boldness is seldom without some absurdity. Especially it is a sport to see, when a bold fellow is out of countenance; for that puts his face into a most shrunken and wooden posture; as needs it must; for in bashfulness the spirits do a little go and come; but with bold men, upon like occasion, they stand at a stay; like a stale¹ at chess, where it is no mate, but yet the game cannot stir. But this last were fitter for a satire than for a serious observation. This is well to be weighed; that boldness is ever blind; for it seeth not dangers and inconveniences. Therefore it is ill in counsel, good in execution; so that the right use of bold persons is, that they never command in chief, but be seconds, and under the direction of others. For in counsel it is good to see dangers; and in execution not to see them, except they be very great.

XIII. OF GOODNESS AND GOODNESS OF NATURE.

I TAKE Goodness in this sense, the affecting of the weal of men, which is that the Grecians call *Philanthropia*; and the word *humanity* (as it is used) is a

¹*Stale.* *Stale-mate*, in chess, the position of a king when he cannot move but into check.

little too light to express it. Goodness I call the habit, and Goodness of Nature the inclination. This of all virtues and dignities of the mind is the greatest; being the character of the Deity: and without it man is a busy, mischievous, wretched thing; no better than a kind of vermin. Goodness answers to the theological virtue Charity, and admits no excess, but error. The desire of power in excess caused the angels to fall; the desire of knowledge in excess caused man to fall: but in charity there is no excess; neither can angel or man come in danger by it. The inclination to goodness is imprinted deeply in the nature of man; insomuch that if it issue not towards men, it will take unto other living creatures; as it is seen in the Turks, a cruel people, who nevertheless are kind to beasts, and give alms to dogs and birds; insomuch as Busbechius¹ reporteth, a Christian boy in Constantinople had like to have been stoned for gagging in a waggishness a long-billed fowl.² Errors indeed in this virtue of goodness or charity may be committed. The Italians have an ungracious proverb, *Tanto buon che val niente*; *So good, that he is good for nothing*. And one of the doctors of Italy, Nicholas Machiavel,³ had the confidence to put in writing, almost in plain terms, *That the Christian*

¹ Augier Ghislen de Busbec, or Busbecq, or Busbecqué (Latinized, Busbechius here, but better, Busbequius), 1522–1592, a Flemish diplomatist and scholar, ambassador of Ferdinand I. at Constantinople.

² The bird was a goat-sucker, which the goldsmith fastened over his door with wings spread and jaws distended. The story will be found in Busbequius's letter from Constantinople, p. 179 of ed. 1633. S.

³ Niccolò Machiavelli, 1469–1527, Florentine statesman, author of *Discourses on the First Decade of T. Livius*, the *Prince*, and a

*faith had given up good men in prey to those that are tyrannical and unjust.*¹ Which he spake, because indeed there was never law, or sect, or opinion, did so much magnify goodness, as the Christian religion doth. Therefore, to avoid the scandal and the danger both, it is good to take knowledge² of the errors of an habit so excellent. Seek the good of other men, but be not in bondage to their faces or fancies; for that is but facility or softness; which taketh an honest mind prisoner. Neither give thou Æsop's cock a gem, who would be better pleased and happier if he had a barley-corn.³ The example of God teacheth the lesson truly; *He sendeth his rain, and maketh his sun to shine, upon the just and unjust;*⁴ but he doth not rain wealth, nor shine

History of Florence. Bacon was much attracted towards Machiavelli, who was a kindred spirit, a man of acute intellect and no compelling conscience.

¹ *Discorsi sopra La Prima Deca di T. Livio. II. 2.*

² *Knowledge. Cognizance; notice;* only in the phrase, 'to take knowledge of,' that is, 'to take cognizance or notice of, to observe.'

"Take you, as 't were, some distant knowledge of him."

Shakspeare. Hamlet. ii. 1.

³ "As a Cock was turning up a Dunghill, he spy'd a Jewel. Well (says he to himself), this sparkling Foolery now to a Lapidary in my place, would have been the making of him, but as for any Use or Purpose of mine, a Barley-Corn had been worth Forty on 't.

"The Moral.

"He that 's Industrious in an honest Calling, shall never fail of a Blessing. 'T is the part of a wise Man to prefer Things necessary before Matters of Curiosity, Ornament, or Pleasure." *Table I. A Cock and a Diamond. Fables of Æsop and other Eminent Mythologists: with Morals and Reflexions. By Sir Roger L'Es-trange, Kt.*

"When peace was renewed with the French in England, divers of the great counsellors were presented from the French with jewels. The Lord Henry Howard was omitted. Whereupon the King said to him: *My Lord, how haps it that you have not a jewel as well as the rest?* My Lord answered again (alluding to the fable of Æsop): *Non sum Gallus, itaque non reperi gemmam.*" *Bacon. Apophthegmes New and Old. 203 (34).*

⁴ "For he maketh his sun to rise on the evil and on the good, and sendeth rain on the just and on the unjust." *Matthew v. 45.*

honour and virtues, upon men equally. Common benefits are to be communicate with all; but peculiar benefits with choice. And beware how in making the portraiture thou breakest the pattern. For divinity maketh the love of ourselves the pattern; the love of our neighbours but the portraiture. *Sell all thou hast, and give it to the poor, and follow me:*¹ but sell not all thou hast, except thou come and follow me; that is, except thou have a vocation wherein thou mayest do as much good with little means as with great; for otherwise in feeding the streams thou driest the fountain. Neither is there only a habit of goodness, directed by right reason; but there is in some men, even in nature, a disposition towards it; as on the other side there is a natural malignity. For there be that in their nature do not affect the good of others. The lighter sort of malignity turneth but to a crossness, or frowardness, or aptness to oppose, or difficilness,² or the like; but the deeper sort to envy and mere mischief. Such men in other men's calamities are, as it were, in season, and are ever on the loading³ part: not so good as the dogs that licked Lazarus' sores;⁴ but like flies that are still buzzing upon any thing that is raw; *misanthropi*,⁵ that make it their practice to bring men to the bough, and yet have never a tree

¹ "If thou wilt be perfect, go and sell that thou hast, and give to the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven; and come and follow me." *Matthew xix. 21.*

² *Difficilness. Unreasonableness, stubbornness.*

³ *Loading.* Present participle active, 'that loads'; hence *burdening, aggravating, oppressive.*

⁴ *Luke xvi. 21.*

⁵ *Misanthropi. Misanthropes*, that is, from the Greek, *haters of mankind.*

for the purpose in their gardens, as Timon¹ had. Such dispositions are the very errors of human nature; and yet they are the fittest timber to make great politiques of; like to knee timber,² that is good for ships, that are ordained to be tossed; but not for building houses, that shall stand firm. The parts and signs of goodness are many. If a man be gracious and courteous to strangers, it shews he is a citizen of the world, and that his heart is no island cut off from other lands, but a continent that joins to them. If he be compassionate towards the afflictions of others, it shews that his heart is like the noble tree that is wounded itself when it gives the balm. If he easily pardons and remits offences, it shews that his mind is planted above injuries; so that he cannot be shot. If he be thankful for small benefits, it shows that he weighs men's minds, and not their trash. But above all, if he have St. Paul's perfection, that he would wish to be an *anathema*³ from Christ for the salvation of his brethren, it shews much of a divine nature, and a kind of conformity with Christ himself.

¹ Timon of Athens, the Misanthrope. Plutarch, in his *Life of Marcus Antonius*, tells the story that Timon one day mounted the rostrum in the market-place to announce that he had a fig-tree in his garden on which many citizens had hanged themselves, that he meant to cut the fig-tree down to build on the spot, and thought it well to make the fact known, so that, "if any of you be desperate, you may there go hang yourselves."

² Knee-timber. Timber having a natural angular bend, suitable for making 'knees' in shipbuilding or carpentry.

³ Anathema, from the Greek, meaning, anything devoted, especially to evil, a curse. The Bible reference is to *Romans ix. 3*: "For I could wish that myself were accursed from Christ for my brethren, my kinsmen according to the flesh." Compare *Advancement of Learning*, II. xx. 7.

x a Macmavellan idea!

XIV. OF NOBILITY.

WE will speak of Nobility first as a portion of an estate;¹ then as a condition of particular persons. A monarchy where there is no nobility at all, is ever a pure and absolute tyranny; as that of the Turks. For nobility attempers sovereignty, and draws the eyes of the people somewhat aside from the line royal. But for democracies, they need it not; and they are commonly more quiet and less subject to sedition, than where there are stirps² of nobles. For men's eyes are upon the business, and not upon the persons; or if upon the persons, it is for the business sake, as fittest, and not for flags and pedigree. We see the Switzers last well, notwithstanding their diversity of religion and of cantons. For utility is their bond, and not respects.³ The united provinces of the Low Countries in their government excel; for where there is an equality, the consultations are more indifferent, and the payments and tributes more cheerful. A great and potent nobility addeth majesty to a monarch, but diminisheth power; and putteth life and spirit into the people, but presseth their fortune. It is well when nobles are not too great for sovereignty nor for justice; and yet maintained in that height, as the insolency⁴ of inferiors may be broken upon them before it come on

¹ *Stirp.* Stock, race, family.

² *Estate.* State.

³ *Respects.* Personal considerations.

⁴ *Insolency.* Insolence.

too fast upon the majesty of kings. A numerous nobility causeth poverty and inconvenience in a state; for it is a surcharge¹ of expense; and besides, it being of necessity that many of the nobility fall in time to be weak in fortune, it maketh a kind of disproportion between honour and means.

As for nobility in particular persons; it is a reverend thing to see an ancient castle or building not in decay; or to see a fair timber tree sound and perfect. How much more to behold an ancient noble family, which hath stood against the waves and weathers of time. For new nobility is but the act of power, but ancient nobility is the act of time. Those that are first raised to nobility are commonly more virtuous, but less innocent, than their descendants; for there is rarely any rising but by a commixture of good and evil arts. But it is reason² the memory of their virtues remain to their posterity, and their faults die with themselves.³ Nobility of birth commonly abateth industry; and he that is not industrious, envieth him that is. Besides, noble persons cannot go much higher: and he that standeth at a stay⁴ when others rise, can hardly avoid

¹ *Surcharge. An extra charge.*

² *Reason.* A matter agreeable to reason; the idiom is from the old French, *il est raison, c'est (bien) raison.*

³ Compare the turn of this thought as twice expressed by Shakspeare.

"The evil that men do lives after them;
The good is oft interrèd with their bones."

Shakspeare. Julius Caesar. iii. 2.

"Men's evil manners live in brass; their virtues
We write in water."

Shakspeare. King Henry VIII. iv. 2.

⁴ *Stay.* Standstill; at a stay, that is, at a standstill.

motions¹ of envy. On the other side, nobility extinguisheth the passive envy from others towards them; because they are in possession of honour. Certainly, kings that have able men of their nobility shall find ease in employing them, and a better slide² into their business; for people naturally bend to them, as born in some sort to command.

XV. OF SEDITIONS AND TROUBLES.

SHEPHERDS of people had need know the calendars of tempests in state; which are commonly greatest, when things grow to equality; as natural tempests are greatest about the *Equinoctia*.³ And as there are certain hollow blasts of wind and secret swellings of seas before a tempest, so are there in states:

——Ille etiam cæcos instare tumultus

Sæpe monet, fraudesque et operta tumescere bella.⁴

Libels and licentious discourses against the state, when they are frequent and open; and in like sort, false news often running up and down to the disadvantage of the state, and hastily embraced; are

¹ *Motions.* Natural impulses, especially of the mind or soul. "For when we were in the flesh, the motions of sins, which were by the law, did work in our members, to bring forth fruit unto death." *Romans vii. 5.*

² *Slide.* Smooth and easy passage.

³ *Equinoctia.* Equinoxes.

⁴ He even often warns that secret tumults are impending, and that treason and open wars are ready to burst forth. *Vergil. Georgicon Liber I. 464-465.*

amongst the signs of troubles. Virgil¹ giving the pedigree of Fame, saith *she was sister to the Giants* :

Illam Terra parens, irâ irritata Deorum,
Extremam (ut perhibent) Cœo Enceladoque sororem
Progeniuit.²

As if fames³ were the relics of seditions past; but they are no less indeed the preludes of seditions to come. Howsoever he noteth it right, that seditious tumults and seditious fames differ no more but as brother and sister, masculine and feminine; especially if it come to that, that the best actions of a state, and the most plausible, and which ought to give greatest contentment, are taken in ill sense, and traduced: for that shews the envy great, as Tacitus saith, *conflata magna invidia, seu bene seu male gesta premunt*.⁴ Neither doth it follow, that because these fames are a sign of troubles, that⁵ the suppressing of them with too much severity should be a remedy of troubles. For the despising of them many times checks them best; and the going about to stop them doth but make a wonder long-lived. Also

¹ Publius Vergilius Maro, 70-19 B.C., a famous Roman epic, didactic, and idyllic poet. He wrote the *Aeneid*, ten *Bucolics* or *Eclogues*, and four *Georgics*.

² Irritated by the vengeance of the gods, teeming Earth, as they relate, brought her forth last, sister to Coeus and Enceladus. *Vergil. Aeneidos Liber IV. 178-180*. Bacon also quotes this passage from the *Aeneid* in the *Advancement of Learning*, II. iv. 4. Compare also in the *Wisdom of the Ancients*, *The Sister of the Giants; or Fame*.

³ *Fame. Rumor; report*. "And the fame thereof was heard in Pharaoh's house, saying, Joseph's brethren are come: and it pleased Pharaoh well, and his servants." *Genesis xlv. 16*.

⁴ When great unpopularity is excited, they condemn acts, both good and bad. *Tacitus. Historiarum Liber I. 7*. Bacon quotes the sense, not the exact language.

⁵ So in original. One of the *thats* should of course be omitted. S.

that kind of obedience which Tacitus speaketh of is to be held suspected: *Erant in officio, sed tamen qui mallent mandata imperantium interpretari quam exequi*; ¹ disputing, excusing, cavilling upon mandates and directions, is a kind of shaking off the yoke, and assay ² of disobedience; especially if in those disputings they which are for the direction speak fearfully and tenderly, and those that are against it audaciously.

Also, as Machiavel ³ noteth well, when princes, that ought to be common parents, make themselves as a party, and lean to a side, it is as a boat that is overthrown by uneven weight on the one side; ⁴ as was well seen in the time of Henry the Third ⁵ of France; for first himself entered league for the extirpation of the Protestants; and presently after the same league was turned upon himself. For when the authority of princes is made but an accessory to a cause, and that there be other bands that tie faster than the band of sovereignty, kings begin to be put almost out of possession.

Also, when discords, and quarrels, and factions, are carried openly and audaciously, it is a sign the reverence of government is lost. For the motions of the greatest persons in a government ought to be as the motions of the planets under *primum*

¹ They were in office, but chose rather to interpret the commands of their rulers than to execute them. *Tacitus. Historiarum Liber I. 7.* (Sense quoted again, not the language.)

² *Assay. Trial.*

³ The Italian translation omits the name of Machiavel, and says only *un scrittore.* S.

⁴ *Discorsi sopra La Prima Deca di T. Livio. III. 27.*

⁵ Henry III., of Valois, 1551–1589, King of France, 1574–1589.

mobile;¹ (according to the old opinion,) which is, that every of them² is carried swiftly by the highest motion, and softly in their own motion. And therefore, when great ones in their own particular motion move violently, and, as Tacitus expresseth it well, *liberius quam ut imperantium meminissent*,³ it is a sign the orbs are out of frame. For reverence is that wherewith princes are girt from God; who threateneth the dissolving thereof; *Solvam cingula regum*.⁴

So when any of the four pillars of government are mainly shaken or weakened (which are Religion, Justice, Counsel, and Treasure), men had need to pray for fair weather. But let us pass from this part of predictions (concerning which, nevertheless, more light may be taken from that which followeth); and let us speak first of the Materials of seditions; then of the Motives of them; and thirdly of the Remedies.

Concerning the Materials of seditions. It is a thing well to be considered; for the surest way to prevent seditions (if the times do bear it) is to take away the matter of them. For if there be fuel prepared, it is hard to tell whence the spark shall come that shall set it on fire. The matter of seditions is of two kinds; much poverty and much

¹ *Primum mobile*. Literally, the *movable first*; in the Ptolemaic system of astronomy the *primum mobile* was the tenth or outermost of the revolving spheres of the universe. It was supposed to revolve from east to west in twenty-four hours, and to carry the nine inner spheres along with it in its motion; hence, any great or first source of motion.

² *Every of them. Each of them, every one of them.*

³ More freely than is consistent with allegiance to their rulers.

⁴ I will loosen the girdles of Kings. "He looseth the bond of Kings, and girdeth their loins with a girdle." *Job xii. 18.*

discontentment. It is certain, so many overthrown estates, so many votes for troubles. Lucan¹ noteth well the state of Rome before the civil war,

Hinc usura vorax, rapidumque in tempore fœnus,
Hinc concussa fides, et multis utile bellum.²

This same *multis utile bellum*, is an assured and infallible sign of a state disposed to seditions and troubles. And if this poverty and broken estate³ in the better sort be joined with a want and necessity in the mean people, the danger is imminent and great. For the rebellions of the belly are the worst. As for discontentments, they are in the politic body like to humours in the natural, which are apt to gather a preternatural heat and to inflame. And let no prince measure the danger of them by this, whether they be just or unjust: for that were to imagine people to be too reasonable; who do often spurn at their own good: nor yet by this, whether the griefs⁴ whereupon they rise be in fact great or small: for they are the most dangerous discontentments where the fear is greater than the feeling: *Dolendi modus, timendi non item.*⁵ Besides, in great oppressions, the same things that

¹ Marcus Annaeus Lucan, 39–65 A.D., a Roman poet; he wrote the *Civilis Belli Libri* X, called the *Pharsalia*, an epic poem in ten books on the war between Caesar and Pompey.

² *Hinc usura vorax, avidumque in tempore fœnus,
Et concussa fides; et multis utile bellum.*

Lucan. *Civilis Belli Liber* I. 181–182.

Hence voracious usury, and interest rapidly compounding; hence broken faith, and war profitable to many.

³ *Estate. Condition.*

⁴ *Griefs. Grievances.*

"Be factious for redress of all these griefs."

Shakspeare. *Julius Caesar.* i. 3.

⁵ There is a limit to suffering, but to fear not so.

provoke the patience, do withal mate the courage; but in fears it is not so. Neither let any prince or state be secure concerning discontentments, because they have been often, or have been long, and yet no peril hath ensued: for as it is true that every vapour or fume doth not turn into a storm; so it is nevertheless true that storms, though they blow over divers times, yet may fall at last; and, as the Spanish proverb noteth well, *The cord breaketh at the last by the weakest pull.*

The Causes and Motives of Seditions are, innovation in religion; taxes; alteration of laws and customs; breaking of privileges; general oppression; advancement of unworthy persons; strangers; dearths; disbanded soldiers; factions grown desperate; and whatsoever, in offending people, joineth and knitteth them in a common cause.

For the Remedies; there may be some general preservatives, whereof we will speak: as for the just cure, it must answer to the particular disease; and so be left to counsel rather than rule.

The first remedy or prevention is to remove by all means possible that material cause of sedition whereof we spake; which is, want and poverty in the estate. To which purpose serveth, the opening and well-balancing of trade; the cherishing of manufactures; the banishing of idleness; the repressing of waste and excess by sumptuary laws; the improvement and husbanding of the soil; the regulating of prices of things vendible; the moderating of taxes and tributes, and the like. Generally, it is to be foreseen that the population of a kingdom (es-

pecially if it be not mown down by wars) do not exceed the stock of the kingdom which should maintain them. Neither is the population to be reckoned only by number; for a smaller number that spend more and earn less, do wear out an estate sooner than a greater number that live lower and gather more. Therefore the multiplying of nobility and other degrees of quality¹ in an over proportion to the common people, doth speedily bring a state to necessity; and so doth likewise an overgrown clergy; for they bring nothing to the stock; and in like manner, when more are bred scholars than preferments can take off.

It is likewise to be remembered, that forasmuch as the increase of any estate must be upon the foreigner (for whatsoever is somewhere gotten is somewhere lost), there be but three things which one nation selleth unto another; the commodity as nature yieldeth it; the manufacture; and the vecture, or carriage. So that if these three wheels go, wealth will flow as in a spring tide. And it cometh many times to pass, that *materiam superabit opus*;² that the work and carriage is more worth than the material, and enricheth a state more; as is notably seen in the Low-Countrymen, who have the best mines above ground in the world.

Above all things, good policy is to be used that

¹ *Quality. Nobility or gentry.*

"The rest are princes, barons, lords, knights, squires,
And gentlemen of blood and quality."

Shakspeare. King Henry V. iv. 8.

² The work will surpass the material. Bacon is quoting Ovid, literally for once, *materiem superabit opus. P. Ovidii Nasonis Metamorphoseon Liber II. 5.*

the treasure and monies in a state be not gathered into few hands. For otherwise a state may have a great stock, and yet starve. And money is like muck, not good except it be spread.¹ This is done chiefly by suppressing, or at the least keeping a strait hand upon the devouring trades of usury, ingrossing,² great pasturages, and the like.

For removing discontentments, or at least the danger of them; there is in every state (as we know) two portions of subjects; the nobless and the commonalty. When one of these is discontent, the danger is not great; for common people are of slow motion, if they be not excited by the greater sort; and the greater sort are of small strength, except the multitude be apt and ready to move of themselves. Then is the danger, when the greater sort do but wait for the troubling of the waters amongst the meaner, that then they may declare themselves. The poets feign, that the rest of the gods would have bound Jupiter; which he hearing of, by the counsel of Pallas, sent for Briareus, with his hundred hands, to come in to his aid.³ An emblem, no doubt, to show how safe it is for monarchs to make sure of the good will of common people.

To give moderate liberty for griefs and discontentments to evaporate (so it be without too great insolency or bravery), is a safe way. For he that turneth

¹ "Mr. Bettenham used to say: *That riches were like muck; when it lay upon an heap, it gave but a stench and ill odour; but when it was spread upon the ground, then it was cause of much fruit.*" Bacon. *Apophthegmes New and Old.* 252 (107).

² *Ingrossing.* The action of buying (any article) in large quantities with a view of obtaining a monopoly.

³ *Homer. Iliad. I. 396-406.*

the humours back, and maketh the wound bleed inwards, endangereth malign ulcers and pernicious imposthumations.¹

The part of Epimetheus² mought well become Prometheus, in the case of discontentments; for there is not a better provision against them. Epimetheus, when griefs and evils flew abroad, at last shut the lid, and kept hope in the bottom of the vessel. Certainly, the politic and artificial nourishing and entertaining of hopes, and carrying men from hopes to hopes, is one of the best antidotes against the poison of discontentments. And it is a certain sign of a wise government and proceeding, when it can hold men's hearts by hopes, when it cannot by satisfaction; and when it can handle things in such manner, as no evil shall appear so peremptory but that it hath some outlet of hope: which is the less hard to do, because both particular persons and factions are apt enough to flatter themselves, or at least to brave³ that they believe not.

Also the foresight and prevention, that there be no likely or fit head whereunto discontented persons may resort, and under whom they may join, is a known, but an excellent point of caution. I understand a fit head to be one that hath greatness and reputation; that hath confidence with the discontented party, and upon whom they turn their eyes;

¹ *Imposthumation. Abscess.*

² Epimetheus. 'Afterthought,' brother of Prometheus, 'Forethought,' and husband of Pandora. According to the Greek myth, Prometheus had confined the 'griefs and evils' of men in a box, which Pandora opened. Read Bacon's telling of the story of Pandora's box in the *Wisdom of the Ancients, Prometheus; or the State of Man*. Also Longfellow's, *The Masque of Pandora*.

³ *Brave. To boast of.*

and that is thought discontented in his own particular: which kind of persons are either to be won and reconciled to the state, and that in a fast and true manner; or to be fronted with some other of the same party, that may oppose them, and so divide the reputation. Generally, the dividing and breaking of all factions and combinations that are adverse to the state, and setting them at distance,¹ or at least distrust, amongst themselves, is not one of the worst remedies. For it is a desperate case, if those that hold with the proceeding of the state be full of discord and faction, and those that are against it be entire and united.

I have noted that some witty and sharp speeches which have fallen from princes have given fire to seditions. Cæsar did himself infinite hurt in that speech, *Sylla nescivit literas, non potuit dictare*:² for it did utterly cut off that hope which men had entertained, that he would at one time or other give over his dictatorship. Galba undid himself by that speech, *legi a se militem, non emi*; ³ for it put the soldiers out

¹ *Distance*. *Discord, dissension, enmity*. The meaning is derived from fencing.

"So is he mine; and in such bloody *distance*,
That every minute of his being thrusts
Against my near'st of life."

Shakspeare. Macbeth. iii. 1.

² Sulla knew not letters, he could not dictate. *C. Suetoni Tranquilli De XII Caesaribus Liber I. Divus Julius Caesar. Caput 77*, where the pun is "*Sullam nescisse litteras, qui dictaturam deposuerit*." "Caesar would say of Sylla, for that he did resign his dictatorship; That he was ignorant of letters, he could not dictate." *Bacon. Apophthegmes New and Old. 135 (116)*. The pun is also quoted in the *Advancement of Learning, I. vii. 29*, where Bacon is speaking of Caesar's "perfection in learning."

³ He levied his soldiers, he did not buy them. *Tacitus. Historiarum Liber I. 5.*

of hope of the donative. Probus¹ likewise, by that speech, *si vixero, non opus erit amplius Romano imperio militibus*; ² a speech of great despair for the soldiers. And many the like. Surely princes had need, in tender matters and ticklish times, to beware what they say; especially in these short speeches, which fly abroad like darts, and are thought to be shot out of their secret intentions. For as for large discourses, they are flat things, and not so much noted.

Lastly, let princes, against all events, not be without some great person, one or rather more, of military valour, near unto them, for the repressing of seditions in their beginnings. For without that, there useth to be more trepidation in court upon the first breaking out of troubles than were fit. And the state runneth the danger of that which Tacitus saith; *Atque is habitus animorum fuit, ut pessimum facinus auderent pauci, plures vellent, omnes paterentur*.³ But let such military persons be assured,⁴ and well reputed of, rather than factious and popular; holding also good correspondence with the other great men in the state; or else the remedy is worse than the disease.

¹ Marcus Aurelius Probus, Roman Emperor, 276–282 A.D.

² If I live, the Roman Empire will need no more soldiers. *Flavius Vopiscus. Probus. 20, in Augustae Historiae Scriptores.*

³ And that was the state of their minds that a few dared the worst villainy, more willed it, all tolerated it. *Tacitus. Historiarum Liber I. 28.*

⁴ Assured. Trustworthy.

XVI. OF ATHEISM.

I HAD rather believe all the fables in the Legend¹ and the Talmud,² and the Alcoran,³ than that this universal frame is without a mind. And therefore God never wrought miracle to convince⁴ atheism because his ordinary works convince it. It is true, that a little philosophy inclineth man's mind to atheism; but depth in philosophy bringeth men's minds about to religion. For while the mind of man looketh upon second causes scattered, it may sometimes rest in them, and go no further; but when it beholdeth the chain of them, confederate and linked together, it must needs fly to Providence and Deity. Nay, even that school which is most accused of atheism doth most demonstrate religion; that is, the school of Leucippus⁵ and Democritus and Epicurus.⁶ For it is a thousand times more credible, that four

¹ The *Legend*. A book of miraculous stories, so called because it was appointed to be *read* in churches on certain days.

² The *Talmud*. The book of Jewish traditional or oral laws and regulations of life explanatory of the written law of the Pentateuch, together with the commentaries of the rabbins thereon. The two recensions of the Talmud, the Palestinian and the Babylonian, were composed between the ends of the 2d and 6th centuries A.D.

³ *Alcoran* (Arabic, *the book*), or Koran, the Mohammedan book of faith and worship.

⁴ *Convince*. To *disprove*; to *refute*. "There was never miracle wrought by God to convert an atheist, because the light of nature might have led him to confess a God." *Advancement of Learning*, II. vi. 1.

⁵ Leucippus, Greek philosopher, flourished about 500 B.C. He founded the atomic school of philosophy.

⁶ Epicurus, Greek philosopher, 342–270 B.C. Epicurus taught that pleasure is the only possible end of rational action, and that the ultimate pleasure is freedom. With Democritus, he accepted and helped to develop the theory of atoms of Leucippus.

mutable elements,¹ and one immutable fifth essence, duly and eternally placed, need no God, than that an army of infinite small portions or seeds unplaced, should have produced this order and beauty without a divine marshal. The scripture saith, *The fool hath said in his heart, there is no God*;² it is not said, *The fool hath thought in his heart*; so as³ he rather saith it by rote to himself, as that⁴ he would have, than that he can thoroughly believe it, or be persuaded of it.⁵ For none deny there is a God, but those for whom it maketh⁶ that there were no God. It appeareth in nothing more, that atheism is rather in the lip than in the heart of man, than by this; that atheists will ever be talking of that their opinion, as if they fainted in it within themselves, and would be glad to be strengthened by the consent⁷ of others. Nay more, you shall have atheists strive to get disciples, as it fareth with other sects. And, which

¹ *Four mutable elements.* The four elements are earth, air, fire, and water, of which all things were thought to be made. Aristotle suggested a 'fifth being,' or 'form of existence,' for that which makes a thing what it is, its 'soul.' The Latin language translated 'fifth being' as *quinta essentia*, 'fifth essence'; that is, 'quintessence,' in English.

"The cumbrous elements, earth, flood, air, fire;
And this ethereal quintessence of heav'n
Flew upward, spirited with various forms,
That roll'd orbicular, and turn'd to stars
Numberless."

Milton. *Paradise Lost*. III. 715-719.

² This is the first sentence of the first verse of both the Fourteenth and the Fifty-third Psalms.

³ *As. That.*

⁴ *That means what, that which.*

⁵ "For myself, I would not give up the poetry of religion for all the wisest results that philosophy will ever arrive at." Thomas Moore to Lord Byron, Feb. 9, 1822. *Letters and Journals of Lord Byron, with Notices of his Life.* Thomas Moore.

⁶ *Maketh.* Make means profit.

⁷ *Consent.* Agreement or unity of opinion; unanimity, consensus.

is most of all,¹ you shall have of them that will suffer for atheism, and not recant; whereas if they did truly think that there were no such thing as God, why should they trouble themselves? Epicurus is charged that he did but dissemble for his credit's sake, when he affirmed there were blessed natures, but such as enjoyed themselves without having respect to the government of the world. Wherein they say he did temporize; though in secret he thought there was no God. But certainly he is traduced; for his words are noble and divine: *Non Deos vulgi negare profanum; sed vulgi opiniones Diis applicare profanum.*² Plato could have said no more. And although he had the confidence³ to deny the administration, he had not the power to deny the nature. The Indians of the west have names for their particular gods, though they have no name for God: as if the heathens should have had the names Jupiter, Apollo, Mars, &c., but not the word *Deus*; which shews that even those barbarous people have the notion, though they have not the latitude and extent of it. So that against atheists the very savages take part with the very subtlest philosophers. The contemplative atheist is rare: a Diagoras,⁴

¹ The Latin text shows that the phrase *most of all* means *most extraordinary of all*.

² It is not profane to deny the gods of the common people; but it is profane to apply the opinions of the common people to the gods. *Diogenes Laertius*. X. 123.

³ Confidence. Assurance, boldness, fearlessness, arising from reliance (on one's self, on circumstances, on divine support, etc.).

"Alas, my lord,

Your wisdom is consumed in confidence."

Shakspeare. Julius Caesar. ii. 2.

⁴ Diagoras of Melos, surnamed 'the Atheist,' lived in the last half of the 5th century, B.C.

a Bion,¹ a Lucian² perhaps, and some others; and yet they seem to be more than they are; for that all that impugn a received religion or superstition are by the adverse part branded with the name of atheists. But the great atheists indeed are hypocrites; which are ever handling holy things, but without feeling; so as they must needs be cauterized in the end. The causes of atheism are; divisions in religion, if they be many; for any one main division addeth zeal to both sides; but many divisions introduce atheism. Another is, scandal of priests; when it is come to that which St. Bernard saith,³ *Non est jam dicere, ut populus sic sacerdos; quia nec sic populus ut sacerdos.*⁴ A third is, custom of profane scoffing in holy matters; which doth by little and little deface the reverence of religion. And lastly, learned times, specially with peace and prosperity; for troubles and adversities do more bow men's minds to religion. They that deny a God destroy man's nobility; for certainly man is of kin to the beasts by his body; and, if he be not of kin to

¹ Bion, a witty philosopher of the Cyrenaic school, born at Borysthenes; he lived for some time at the court of Antigonus (Gonatas), who was king of Macedon from 277 to 239 B.C.

² Lucian 120(?)–200(?) A.D., Greek satirist and wit. Among other works, he wrote *Dialogues of the Gods*, *Dialogues of the Dead*, and the *Veracious History*, a mock narrative of travel, which is the original of such books as *Gulliver's Travels*. Lucian's *Timon*, a very amusing and witty dialogue, was, probably through the *Timone* of Matteo Maria Boiardo, one of the sources of Shakspeare's *Timon of Athens*.

³ St. Bernard, 1091–1153, Abbot of Clairvaux, one of the most eloquent and influential men in Europe of his time.

⁴ It cannot now be said, Like priest, like people, because the people are not like the priests, i.e., they are better. *Ad Pastores in Synodo Congregatos sermo. 8.* The sermon of St. Bernard here quoted, entitled, *Cujuscunque sit, nec inelegans est, nec lectu indignus*, will be found in Jacques Paul Migne's *Patrologiae Cursus Completus. S. Bernardus. Volume 3. Columns 1091–1092.*

God by his spirit, he is a base and ignoble creature. It destroys likewise magnanimity, and the raising of human nature; for take an example of a dog, and mark what a generosity and courage he will put on when he finds himself maintained by a man; who to him is instead of a God, or *melior natura*; ¹ which courage is manifestly such as that creature, without that confidence of a better nature than his own, could never attain. So man, when he resteth and assureth himself upon divine protection and favour, gathereth a force and faith which human nature in itself could not obtain. Therefore, as atheism is in all respects hateful, so in this, that it depriveth human nature of the means to exalt itself above human frailty.² As it is in particular persons, so it is in nations. Never was there such a state for magnanimity as Rome. Of this state hear what Cicero³ saith: *Quam volumus licet patres conscripti, nos amemus, tamen nec numero Hispanos, nec robore Gallos, nec calliditate Pœnos, nec artibus Græcos, nec denique hoc ipso hujus gentis et terræ domestico nativæque sensu Italos ipsos et Latinos; sed pietate ac religione, atque hac una sapientia, quod Deorum immortalium numine omnia regi gubernarique perspeximus, omnes gentes nationesque superavimus.*⁴

¹ Better, or higher, nature. P. Ovidii Nasonis *Metamorphoseon Liber I. Fabula I. 21.*

² "If it is a dream ["the prospect of a future state"], let me enjoy it, since it makes me the happier and better man." Joseph Addison. *The Spectator. No. 186.*

³ Marcus Tullius Cicero, 106–43 B.C., Roman orator, philosopher, and statesman.

⁴ We may have as good an opinion of ourselves as we will, conscript fathers, yet we do not surpass the Spaniards in number, nor the Gauls in strength, nor the Carthaginians in cunning, nor the Greeks in arts, nor finally the Italians and Latins themselves in

XVII. OF SUPERSTITION.¹

It were better to have no opinion of God at all, than such an opinion as is unworthy of him. For the one is unbelief, the other is contumely: and certainly superstition is the reproach of the Deity. Plutarch² saith well to that purpose: *Surely (saith he) I had rather a great deal men should say there was no such man at all as Plutarch, than that they should say that there was one Plutarch that would eat his children as soon as they were born;*³ as the poets speak of Saturn.⁴ And as the contumely is greater towards God, so the danger is greater towards men. Atheism leaves a man to sense, to philosophy, to natural piety,⁵ to laws, to reputation, all which may

the homely and native intelligence of this nation and land; but we do surpass all nations and peoples in piety and in religion, and in this one wisdom of recognizing that all things are ruled and governed by the power of the immortal gods. *M. Tullii Ciceronis Oratio De Haruspicum Responso in P. Clodium in Senatu Habita. Caput ix. 19.*

¹ This Essay is omitted in the Italian translation. S.

² Plutarch, born about 46 A.D., Greek historian, author of forty-six 'Parallel Lives' of Greeks and Romans. An excellent translation, *The Lives of the Noble Grecians and Romans* was made from the French of Amyot, by Thomas North, in Bacon's youth, 1579. North's Plutarch was Shakspeare's store-house of classical knowledge.

³ The quotation is from 'Plutarch's Morals,' *Of Superstition or Indiscreet Devotion. 10. Plutarch's Miscellanies and Essays. Vol. I. Edited by W. W. Goodwin. With an Introduction by Ralph Waldo Emerson.*

⁴ Saturn has been identified with the Greek Cronos. He was the youngest of the Titans, children of Sky (Uranus) and Earth (Gaea). Sky and Earth foretold to Cronos that he would be deposed by one of his own children, so he swallowed them one after another as soon as they were born. Cronos was confounded with Chronos, Time, and the myth then comes to explain the tendency of time to destroy whatever it has brought into existence.

⁵ *Natural piety. Morality.*

* Use of Job.

be guides to an outward moral virtue, though religion were not; but superstition dismounts all these, and erecteth an absolute monarchy in the minds of men.¹ Therefore atheism did never perturb² states; for it makes men wary of themselves, as looking no further: and we see the times inclined to atheism (as the time of Augustus Cæsar) were civil³ times. But superstition hath been the confusion of many states, and bringeth in a new *primum mobile*, that ravisheth all the spheres of government. The master of superstition is the people; and in all superstition wise men follow fools; and arguments are fitted to practice, in a reversed order. It was gravely said by some of the prelates in the council of Trent,⁴ where the doctrine of the schoolmen bare great sway, *that the schoolmen were like astronomers, which did feign eccentrics⁵ and epicycles,⁶ and such engines⁷ of orbs, to*

¹ "Sickness and sorrows come and go, but a superstitious soule hath no rest." Robert Burton. *The Anatomy of Melancholy*. Partition 3. Section 4. Member 1. Subsection 3.

² Perturb. To disturb greatly; to unsettle; to confuse.

"What folk ben ye that at myn hom comynge
Pertourben so my feste with crynges?"

Chaucer. *The Knightes Tale*. ll. 47-48.

³ Civil. Tranquil, well-governed, orderly.

"the round-uproared world
Should have shook lions into civil streets,
And citizens to their dens."

Shakspeare. *Antony and Cleopatra*. v. 1.

⁴ The Council of Trent, summoned to meet at Trent in the Austrian Tyrol, March 15, 1545, was the parting of the ways between Roman Catholicism and Protestantism.

⁵ Eccentric. A circle not having the same centre as another.

⁶ Epicycle. A little circle whose centre is on the circumference of a greater circle.

⁷ Engine. Artifice, contrivance, device.

"Nor did he scape
By all his engines, but was headlong sent
With his industrious crew to build in hell."

Milton. *Paradise Lost*. I. 749-751.

save the phenomena; though they knew there were no such things;¹ and in like manner, that the schoolmen had framed a number of subtle and intricate axioms and theorems, to save the practice of the church. The causes of superstition are, pleasing and sensual rites and ceremonies; excess of outward and pharisaical holiness; over-great reverence of traditions, which cannot but load the church; the stratagems of prelates for their own ambition and lucre; the favouring too much of good intentions, which openeth the gate to conceits and novelties; the taking an aim at divine matters by human, which cannot but breed mixture of imaginations: and, lastly, barbarous times, especially joined with calamities and disasters. Superstition, without a veil, is a deformed thing; for as it addeth deformity to an ape to be so like a man, so the similitude of superstition to religion makes it the more deformed. And as wholesome meat corrupteth to little worms, so good forms and orders corrupt into a number of petty observances. There is a superstition in avoiding superstition, when men think to do best if they go furthest from the superstition formerly received; therefore care would be had that (as it fareth in ill purgings) the good be not taken away with the bad; which commonly is done when the people is the reformer.

¹ "Some pleasant wits said, that if the Astrologers, not knowing the true causes of the celestial motions, to salve the appearances, have invented Eccentriques and Epicycles, it was no wonder if the Council, desiring to salve the appearances of the supercelestial motions, did fall into excentricitie of opinions." *The Historie of the Council of Trent. Nathanael Brent. II. 227.* Translated from Fra Paolo Sarpi's *Historia del Concilio Tridentino.*

XVIII. OF TRAVEL.

TRAVEL, in the younger sort, is a part of education ; in the elder, a part of experience. He that travelleth into a country before he hath some entrance into the language, goeth to school, and not to travel. That young men travel under some tutor, or grave servant, I allow ¹ well ; so that he be such a one that hath the language, and hath been in the country before ; whereby he may be able to tell them what things are worthy to be seen in the country where they go ; what acquaintances they are to seek ; what exercises or discipline the place yieldeth. For else young men shall go hooded, and look abroad little. It is a strange thing, that in sea voyages, where there is nothing to be seen but sky and sea, men should make diaries ; but in land-travel, wherein so much is to be observed, for the most part they omit it ; as if chance were fitter to be registered than observation. Let diaries therefore be brought in use. The things to be seen and observed are, the courts of princes, specially when they give audience to ambassadors ; the courts of justice, while they sit and hear causes ; and so of consistories ecclesiastic ; the churches and monasteries, with the monuments which are therein extant ; the walls and fortifications of cities and towns, and so the havens and harbours ; antiquities and ruins ; libraries ; colleges, disputations, and lectures, where any are ;

¹ *Allow. Approve.* "The Lord alloweth the righteous." *Psalm xi. 6. The Psalter.*

shipping and navies; houses and gardens of state and pleasure, near great cities; armories; arsenals; magazines; exchanges; burses;¹ warehouses; exercises of horsemanship, fencing, training of soldiers and the like; comedies, such whereunto the better sort of persons do resort; treasuries of jewels and robes; cabinets and rarities; and, to conclude, whatsoever is memorable in the places where they go. After all which the tutors or servants ought to make diligent inquiry. As for triumphs, masks, feasts, weddings, funerals, capital executions, and such shows, men need not to be put in mind of them; yet are they not to be neglected. If you will have a young man to put his travel into a little room, and in short time to gather much, this you must do. First as was said, he must have some entrance into the language before he goeth. Then he must have such a servant or tutor as knoweth the country, as was likewise said. Let him carry with him also some card or book describing the country where he travelleth; which will be a good key to his inquiry. Let him keep also a diary. Let him not stay long in one city or town; more or less as the place deserveth, but not long; nay, when he stayeth in one city or town, let him change his lodging from one end and part of the town to another; which is a great adamant² of acquaintance. Let him sequester himself from the company of his countrymen, and diet in such places where there is good company of

¹ *Burse*. The French *bourse*, a purse. The sign of a purse was once set over the shop of a banker, hence *bourse* comes to mean *exchange*.

² *Adamant*. *Loadstone*.

the nation where he travelleth. Let him upon his removes from one place to another, procure recommendation to some person of quality residing in the place whither he removeth; that he may use his favour in those things he desireth to see or know. Thus he may abridge his travel with much profit. As for the acquaintance which is to be sought in travel; that which is most of all profitable, is acquaintance with the secretaries and employed men of ambassadors: for so in travelling in one country he shall suck the experience of many. Let him also see and visit eminent persons in all kinds, which are of great name abroad; that he may be able to tell how the life agreeth with the fame. For quarrels, they are with care and discretion to be avoided. They are commonly for mistresses, healths,¹ place, and words. And let a man beware how he keepeth company with cholerick and quarrelsome persons; for they will engage him into² their own quarrels. When a traveller returneth home, let him not leave the countries where he hath travelled altogether behind him; but maintain a correspondence by letters with those of his acquaintance which are of most worth. And let his travel appear rather in his discourse than in his apparel³ or gesture; and in his discourse let him be rather advised⁴ in his answers, than forward to tell stories; and let it appear that

¹ *Healths. Refusal to drink healths.*

² *Into. In.*

³ "Farewell, Monsieur Traveller: look, you lisp, and wear strange suits; disable all the benefits of your own country; be out of love with your nativity, and almost chide God for making you that countenance you are; or I will scarce think you have swam in a gondola." *Shakspeare. As You Like It. iv. 1.*

⁴ *Advised. Circumspect, cautious.*

he doth not change his country manners for those of foreign parts; but only prick in some flowers of that he hath learned abroad into the customs of his own country.

XIX. OF EMPIRE.

It is a miserable state of mind to have few things to desire, and many things to fear; and yet that commonly is the case of kings; who, being at the highest, want matter of desire, which makes their minds more languishing; and have many representations of perils and shadows, which makes their minds the less clear. And this is one reason also of that effect which the Scripture speaketh of, *That the king's heart is inscrutable*.¹ For multitude of jealousies, and lack of some predominant desire that should marshal and put in order all the rest, maketh any man's heart hard to find or sound. Hence it comes likewise, that princes many times make themselves desires, and set their hearts upon toys; sometimes upon a building; sometimes upon erecting of an order; sometimes upon the advancing of a person; sometimes upon obtaining excellency in some art or feat of the hand; as Nero² for playing on the

¹ "The heaven for height, and the earth for depth, and the heart of kings is unsearchable." *Proverbs xxv. 3.*

² Lucius Domitius Ahenobarbus, later Nero Claudius Caesar Drusus Germanicus, commonly called Nero, 37-68 A.D., Roman emperor, 54-68 A.D.

harp, Domitian¹ for certainty of the hand with the arrow, Commodus² for playing at fence, Caracalla³ for driving chariots, and the like. This seemeth incredible unto those that know not the principle *that the mind of man is more cheered and refreshed by profiting in small things, than by standing at a stay in great.* We see also that kings that have been fortunate conquerors in their first years, it being not possible for them to go forward infinitely, but that they must have some check or arrest in their fortunes, turn in their latter years to be superstitious and melancholy; as did Alexander the Great;⁴ Dioclesian;⁵ and in our memory, Charles the Fifth;⁶ and others: for he that is used to go forward, and findeth a stop, falleth out of his own favour, and is not the thing he was.

To speak now of the true temper of empire; it is a thing rare and hard to keep; for both temper⁷ and distemper⁸ consist of contraries. But it is one thing to mingle contraries, another to interchange them. The answer of Apollonius to Vespasian is

¹ Titus Flavius Domitianus Augustus, 51–96 A.D., Roman emperor, 81–96 A.D.

² Lucius Aelius Aurelius Commodus (also Marcus Antoninus), 161–192 A.D., Roman emperor, 180–192 A.D.

³ Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, originally Bassianus, nicknamed Caracalla or Caracallus, 188–217 A.D., Roman emperor, 211–217 A.D.

⁴ Alexander III., surnamed 'the Great,' 356–323 B.C., King of Macedon, 336–323 B.C.

⁵ Caius Aurelius Valerius Diocletianus, surnamed Jovius, 245–313 A.D., Roman emperor, 284–305 A.D.

⁶ Charles V., 1500–1558, Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, 1519–1556.

⁷ *Temper.* Balance of qualities.

⁸ *Distemper.* Disturbed condition. Bacon uses *temper* and *distemper* in their old physiological senses. *Temper*, or *temperament*, from *temperare*, 'to mix,' was one's 'mixture'; *distemper* was a 'variation from the proper mixture.'

full of excellent instruction. Vespasian asked him, *what was Nero's overthrow?* He answered, *Nero could touch and tune the harp well; but in government sometimes he used to wind the pins too high, sometimes to let them down too low.*¹ And certain it is that nothing destroyeth authority so much as the unequal and untimely interchange of power pressed too far, and relaxed too much.

This is true, that the wisdom of all these latter times in princes' affairs is rather fine deliveries and shiftings of dangers and mischiefs when they are near, than solid and grounded courses to keep them aloof. But this is but to try masteries with fortune. And let men beware how they neglect and suffer matter of trouble to be prepared; for no man can forbid the spark, nor tell whence it may come. The difficulties in princes' business are many and great; but the greatest difficulty is often in their own mind. For it is common with princes (saith Tacitus) to will contradictories, *Sunt plerumque regum voluntates vehementes, et inter se contrariæ.*² For it is the solecism³ of power, to think to

¹ "Vespasian asked of Apollonius, *What was the cause of Nero's ruin?* who answered; *Nero could tune the harp well; but in government he did always wind up the strings too high, or let them down too low.*" Bacon. *Apophthegmes New and Old.* 51 (136). This anecdote is related by Philostratus, the Greek sophist, in his account of the life, travels, and prodigies of Apollonius of Tyana, v. 28.

² The desires of kings are for the most part vehement and inconsistent one with another. Elsewhere Bacon correctly quotes this thought from Sallust (*Caius Sallustius Crispus. Bellum Jugurthinum.* 113). "Sallust noteth that it is usual with Kings to desire contradictories: *Sed plerumque regiae voluntates, ut vehementes sunt, sic mobiles, saepeque ipsae sibi adversae.*" *Advancement of Learning*, II. xxii. 5.

³ Solecism. Absurdity.

command the end, and yet not to endure the mean.¹

Kings have to deal with their neighbours, their wives, their children, their prelates or clergy, their nobles, their second-nobles or gentlemen, their merchants, their commons, and their men of war; and from all these arise dangers, if care and circumspection be not used.

First for their neighbours; there can no general rule be given (the occasions are so variable,) save one, which ever holdeth; which is, that princes do keep due sentinel, that none of their neighbours do overgrow so (by increase of territory, by embracing of trade, by approaches, or the like), as² they become more able to annoy them than they were. And this is generally the work of standing counsels to foresee and to hinder it. During that triumvirate of kings, King Henry the Eighth³ of England, Francis the First,⁴ King of France, and Charles the Fifth Emperor, there was such a watch kept, that none of the three could win a palm⁵ of ground, but the other two would straightways⁶ balance it, either by confederation, or, if need were, by a war; and would not in any wise take up peace at interest. And the like was done by that league (which Guicciardine⁷ saith was the security of Italy)

¹ *Mean. Means.*

² *As. That.*

³ Henry VIII., 1491–1547, King of England from 1509 to 1547.

⁴ Francis I., 1494–1547, King of France from 1515 to 1547.

⁵ *Palm. Hand's breadth.*

⁶ *Straightways, straightway. Immediately.* "And they straightway left their nets and followed him." *Matthew iv. 20.*

⁷ Francesco Guicciardini, 1482–1540, Italian historian and statesman; he wrote *L'istoria d'Italia*, 1561–1564.

made between Ferdinando,¹ King of Naples, Lorenzious Medices,² and Ludovicus Sforza,³ potentates, the one of Florence, the other of Milan. Neither is the opinion of some of the schoolmen to be received, *that a war cannot justly be made but upon a precedent⁴ injury or provocation*. For there is no question but a just fear of an imminent danger, though there be no blow given, is a lawful cause of a war.

For their wives; there are cruel examples of them. Livia is infamed⁵ for the poisoning of her husband; Roxalana,⁶ Solyman's wife, was the destruction of that renowned prince Sultan Mustapha,⁷ and otherwise troubled his house and succession; Edward the Second⁸ of England his⁹ queen had the principal hand in the deposing and murther of her husband. This kind of danger is then to be feared

¹ Ferdinand II., 1469–1496, King of Naples.

² Lorenzo dei Medici, 1449–1492, 'the Magnificent,' Florentine statesman and patron of letters.

³ Lodovico Sforza, 'Il Moro,' 1451–1508, Duke of Bari, and *de facto*, of Milan.

⁴ *Precedent*. *Preceding*.

⁵ *Infamed*. *Infamous*. This Livia was sister to Germanicus and wife of Drusus Caesar, son of Tiberius. Tacitus says that Sejanus was responsible for the death of Drusus, and not Livia. *P. Cornelii Taciti Annalium Liber IV. 3*.

⁶ The name of the Sultana Roxalana was really Khourrem, which means 'the joyous one.' She was a Russian and was frequently spoken of as '*La Rossa*,' that is, 'the Russian woman.' *La Rossa* was afterwards euphonized into Roxalana. In 1553, through the machinations of the Sultana Khourrem and her son-in-law, the Grand Vizier, Roostem Pacha, Prince Mustapha was murdered, in order to make way for the succession of Khourrem's son, Prince Selim.

⁷ Mustapha, eldest son of Solyman I.

⁸ Edward II., 1284–1327, King of England from 1307 to 1327. His queen was Isabella of France.

⁹ "Edward the Second of England *his* queen"; notice the peculiar use of the pronoun to take the place of the ending of the genitive case. It is almost always used with names of persons, particularly with those ending with the sound of *s*. The locution was common with the Elizabethans, but went out of use in the following century.

chiefly, when the wives have plots for the raising of their own children; or else that they be advou-tresses.¹

For their children; the tragedies likewise of dangers from them have been many. And generally, the entering of fathers into suspicion of their children hath been ever unfortunate. The destruction of Mustapha (that we named before) was so fatal to Solyman's line, as the succession of the Turks from Solyman² until this day is suspected to be untrue, and of strange blood; for that Selymus the Second³ was thought to be suppositious. The destruction of Crispus,⁴ a young prince of rare towardness,⁵ by Constantinus the Great,⁶ his father, was in like manner fatal to his house; for both Constantinus⁷ and Constance,⁸ his sons, died violent deaths; and Constantius,⁹ his other son, did little better; who died indeed of sickness, but after that Julianus¹⁰ had taken arms against him. The

¹ *Advoutress*. Obsolete form of *adulteress*.

² Solyman I., surnamed 'the Magnificent,' 1494–1566, Sultan of the Ottoman Turks, 1520–1566.

³ Selymus II., son of Solyman the Great, Sultan of the Ottoman Turks, 1566–1574. He was called 'Selim the Sot.'

⁴ Flavius Julius Crispus, died 326 A.D., eldest son of Constantine the Great and his first wife, Minervina. He was put to death by Constantine at the instigation of his stepmother, Fausta.

⁵ *Towardness*. *Readiness to do or learn; docility*.

⁶ Flavius Valerius Aurelius Constantinus, surnamed 'the Great,' 272–337 A.D., Roman emperor, 312–337 A.D.

⁷ Flavius Claudius Constantinus, 312–340 A.D., second son of Constantine the Great, eldest son by his second wife, Fausta, Roman emperor.

⁸ Flavius Julius Constans, 320(?)–350, youngest of the three sons of Constantine the Great and his second wife, Fausta, Roman emperor.

⁹ Flavius Julius Constantius II., 317–361 A.D., third son of Constantine the Great (second son by his second wife, Fausta), Roman emperor.

¹⁰ Flavius Claudius Julianus, 331(?)–363 A.D., Julian the Apostate, Roman emperor, 361–363 A.D.

destruction of Demetrius, son to Philip the Second¹ of Macedon, turned upon the father, who died of repentance. And many like examples there are; but few or none where the fathers had good by such distrust; except it were where the sons were up in open arms against them; as was Selymus the First² against Bajazet; and the three sons of Henry the Second,³ King of England.

For their prelates; when they are proud and great, there is also danger from them; as it was in the times of Anselmus⁴ and Thomas Becket,⁵ Archbishops of Canterbury; who with their crosiers did almost try it with the king's sword; and yet they had to deal with stout and haughty kings; William Rufus,⁶ Henry the First,⁷ and Henry the Second. The danger is not from that state, but where it hath a dependence of foreign authority; or where the churchmen come in and are elected, not by the collation⁸ of the king, or particular patrons, but by the people.

¹ Philip II., 382–336 B.C., King of Macedon and father of Alexander the Great. Livy says that Philip "*mandata dedisse dicitur de filio occidendo.*" *T. Livii Patavini Historiarum Ab Urbe Condita Liber XL. 24.*

² Selymus I., 1465–1520, son of Bajazet II., Sultan of the Ottoman Turks from 1481 until he was dethroned and succeeded by his son Selim in 1512.

³ Henry II., 1133–1189, first Plantagenet King of England, 1154–1189.

⁴ St. Anselm, 1033–1109, Archbishop of Canterbury, and founder of scholastic theology.

⁵ Thomas, known as Thomas à Becket, 1118(?)–1170, Archbishop of Canterbury.

⁶ William Rufus, 1056–1100, second son of William the Conqueror, King of England, 1087–1100.

⁷ Henry I., 1068–1135, Beauclerc, that is, 'fine scholar,' third son of William the Conqueror, King of England, 1100–1135.

⁸ Collation. *The bestowal of a benefice or other preferment upon a clergyman.*

For their nobles; to keep them at a distance, it is not amiss; but to depress them, may make a king more absolute, but less safe; and less able to perform any thing that he desires. I have noted it in my History of King Henry the Seventh of England,¹ who depressed his nobility; whereupon it came to pass that his times were full of difficulties and troubles; for the nobility, though they continued loyal unto him, yet did they not co-operate with him in his business. So that in effect he was fain² to do all things himself.

For their second-nobles; there is not much danger from them, being a body dispersed. They may sometimes discourse high, but that doth little hurt; besides, they are a counterpoise to the higher nobility, that they grow not too potent; and, lastly, being the most immediate in authority with the common people, they do best temper popular commotions.

For their merchants; they are *vena porta*;³ and if they flourish not, a kingdom may have good

¹ Henry VII., 1457–1509, first Tudor King of England, 1485–1509.

² *Fain*. Obligated or compelled.

³ Upon this phrase, which recurs two or three times in Bacon (see for instance the History of Henry VII., page 259; "being a king that loved wealth and treasure, he could not endure to have trade sick, nor any obstruction to continue in the gate-vein, which disperseth that blood,") I am indebted to Mr. Ellis for the following characteristic note. "The metaphor," he writes, "is historically curious; for no one would have used it since the discovery of the circulation of the blood and of the lacteals. But in Bacon's time it was supposed that the chyle was taken up by the veins which converge to the *vena porta*. The latter immediately divides into branches, and ultimately into four ramifications, which are distributed throughout the substance of the liver, so that it has been compared to the trunk of a tree giving off roots at one extremity and branches at the other. Bacon's meaning therefore is, that commerce concentrates the resources of a country in order to their redistribution. The heart, which receives blood from all parts of the

limbs, but will have empty veins, and nourish little. Taxes and imposts upon them do seldom good to the king's revenue; for that he wins in the hundred¹ he leese² in the shire; the particular rates being increased, but the total bulk of trading rather decreased.

For their commons; there is little danger from them, except it be where they have great and potent heads; or where you meddle with the point of religion, or their customs, or means of life.

For their men of war; it is a dangerous state where they live and remain in a body, and are used to donatives;³ whereof we see examples in the janizaries,⁴ and pretorian⁵ bands of Rome; but trainings of men, and arming them in several places, and under several commanders, and without donatives, are things of defence, and no danger.

Princes are like to heavenly bodies, which cause good or evil times; and which have much veneration, but no rest. All precepts concerning kings are in effect comprehended in those two remembrances; *memento quod es homo*; and *memento quod es Deus*, or *vice Dei*;⁶ the one bridleth their power, and the other their will.

body and brings it into contact with the external air, and then redistributes it everywhere, would I think have taken the place of the *vena porta*, after Harvey's discovery had become known; especially as the latter is a mere conduit, and not a source of motion." S.

¹ Hundred. A division of a county in England.

² Leeseth. Loseth.

³ Donatives. Gifts, gratuities.

⁴ Janizary. One of a former body of Turkish infantry, constituting the Sultan's guard and the main part of the standing army.

⁵ Pretorian, or praetorian bands. In imperial Rome, the body-guards of the Emperor.

⁶ Remember that thou art man; remember that thou art God, or God's lieutenant.

XX. OF COUNSEL.

THE greatest trust between man and man is the trust of giving counsel. For in other confidences men commit the parts of life; their lands, their goods, their child,¹ their credit, some particular affair; but to such as they make their counsellors, they commit the whole: by how much the more they are obliged to all faith and integrity. The wisest princes need not think it any diminution to their greatness, or derogation to their sufficiency, to rely upon counsel. God himself is not without, but hath made it one of the great names of his blessed Son; *The Counsellor*.² Salomon hath pronounced that *in counsel is stability*.³ Things will have their first or second agitation: if they be not tossed upon the arguments of counsel, they will be tossed upon the waves of fortune; and be full of inconstancy, doing and undoing, like the reeling of a drunken man. Salomon's son found the force of counsel, as his father saw the necessity of it. For the beloved kingdom of God was first rent and broken by ill counsel; upon which counsel there are set for our instruction the two marks whereby bad counsel is for ever best discerned; that it was young

¹ So edd. 1612 and 1625. Ed. 1639 has *children*. S.

² "For unto us a child is born, unto us a son is given, and the government shall be upon his shoulder; and his name shall be called Wonderful, *Counsellor*, The Mighty God, The Everlasting Father, The Prince of Peace." *Isaiah ix. 6*.

³ "Every purpose is established by counsel." *Proverbs xx. 18*.

counsel, for the persons; and violent counsel, for the matter.

The ancient times do set forth in figure both the incorporation and inseparable conjunction of counsel with kings, and the wise and politic use of counsel by kings: the one, in that they say Jupiter did marry Metis, which signifieth counsel; whereby they intend that Sovereignty is married to Counsel: the other in that which followeth, which was thus: They say, after Jupiter was married to Metis, she conceived by him and was with child, but Jupiter suffered her not to stay till she brought forth, but eat her up; whereby he became himself with child, and was delivered of Pallas armed, out of his head.¹ Which monstrous fable containeth a secret of empire; how kings are to make use of their counsel of state. That first they ought to refer matters unto them, which is the first begetting or impregnation; but when they are elaborate, moulded, and shaped in the womb of their counsel, and grow ripe and ready to be brought forth, that then they suffer not their counsel to go through with the resolution and direction, as if it depended on them; but take the matter back into their own hands, and make it appear to the world that the decrees and final directions (which, because they come forth with prudence and power, are resembled to Pallas armed) proceeded from themselves; and not only from their authority, but (the more to add reputation to themselves) from their head and device.

¹ Bacon here relates the myth of the birth of Pallas Athene as told in Hesiod's *Theogony*, or 'Genealogy of the Gods.' It is *Metis*, or *Counsel*, of the *Wisdom of the Ancients*.

Let us now speak of the inconveniences of counsel, and of the remedies. The inconveniences that have been noted in calling and using counsel, are three. First, the revealing of affairs, whereby they become less secret. Secondly, the weakening of the authority of princes, as if they were less of themselves. Thirdly, the danger of being unfaithfully counselled, and more for the good of them that counsel than of him that is counselled. For which inconveniences, the doctrine of Italy, the practice of France, in some kings' times, hath introduced *cabinet* counsels; a remedy worse than the disease.

As to secrecy; princes are not bound to communicate all matters with all counsellors; but may extract and select. Neither is it necessary that he that consulteth what he should do, should declare what he will do. But let princes beware that the unsecreting¹ of their affairs comes not from themselves. And as for cabinet counsels, it may be their motto, *plenus rimarum sum*:² one futile³ person that maketh it his glory to tell, will do more hurt than many that know it their duty to conceal. It is true there be some affairs which require extreme secrecy, which will hardly go beyond one or two persons besides the king: neither are those counsels unprosperous; for, besides the secrecy, they commonly go on constantly in one spirit of direction, without distraction. But

¹ *Unsecreting. Disclosing.*

² I am full of chinks; that is, I can keep nothing to myself. Terence. *Eunuchus*. I. ii. 25.

³ *Futile. Untrustworthy, of no weight.* From the use of this word in the same connection in the Essay, *Of Simulation and Dissimulation*, it would appear that 'talkative' was the ordinary meaning of 'futile' to Bacon.

then it must be a prudent king, such as is able to grind with a hand-mill; and those inward counselors had need also be wise men, and especially true and trusty to the king's ends; as it was with King Henry the Seventh of England, who in his greatest business imparted himself to none, except it were to Morton¹ and Fox.²

For weakening of authority; the fable³ showeth the remedy. Nay, the majesty of kings is rather exalted than diminished when they are in the chair of counsel; neither was there ever prince bereaved of his dependences by his counsel; except where there hath been either an over-greatness in one counsellor or an over-strict combination in divers;⁴ which are things soon found and holpen.

For the last inconvenience, that men will counsel with an eye to themselves; certainly, *non inveniet fidem super terram*⁵ is meant of the nature of times, and not of all particular persons. There be that are in nature faithful, and sincere, and plain, and direct; not crafty and involved; let princes, above all, draw to themselves such natures. Besides, counsellors are not commonly so united, but that one counsellor keepeth sentinel over another; so that if any do counsel out of faction or private ends, it commonly

¹ John Morton, 1420(?)–1500, bishop of Ely and archbishop of Canterbury.

² Richard Foxe, or Fox, 1448(?)–1528, successively bishop of Exeter, of Bath and Wells, of Durham, and of Winchester.

³ That is, the fable of Jupiter and Metis. S.

⁴ *Divers. Various, several, sundry.* "And Tamar put ashes on her head, and rent her garment of *divers* colours that was on her, and laid her hand on her head, and went on crying." II. *Samuel* xiii. 19.

⁵ He will not find faith upon the earth. *Luke* xviii. 8. Notice this same verse quoted in the last sentence of the Essay, *Of Truth*.

comes to the king's ear. But the best remedy is, if princes know their counsellors, as well as their counsellors know them :

Principis est virtus maxima nosse suos.¹

And on the other side, counsellors should not be too speculative into their sovereign's person. The true composition of a counsellor is rather to be skilful in their master's business, than in his nature ; for then he is like to advise him, and not feed his humour. It is of singular use to princes if they take the opinions of their counsel both separately and together. For private opinion is more free ; but opinion before others is more reverent. In private, men are more bold in their own humours ; and in consort,² men are more obnoxious to others' humours ; therefore it is good to take both ; and of the inferior sort rather in private, to preserve freedom ; of the greater rather in consort, to preserve respect. It is in vain for princes to take counsel concerning matters, if they take no counsel likewise concerning persons ; for all matters are as dead images ; and the life of the execution of affairs resteth in the good choice of persons. Neither is it enough to consult concerning persons *secundum genera*,³ as in an idea, or mathematical description, what the kind and character of the person should be ; for the greatest errors are

¹ The greatest virtue of a prince is to know his counsellors. *Marci Valerii Martialis Epigrammatum Liber VIII. xv. Ad Domitianum. 8.*

² Consort. Company, council.

"Yes, madam, he was of that consort."

Shakspeare. King Lear. ii. 1.

³ According to their kinds.

committed, and the most judgment is shown in the choice of individuals. It was truly said, *optimi consilarii mortui*.¹ books will speak plain when counsellors blanch. Therefore it is good to be conversant in them, specially the books of such as themselves have been actors upon the stage.

The counsels at this day in most places are but familiar meetings, where matters are rather talked on than debated. And they run too swift to the order or act of counsel. It were better that in causes of weight, the matter were propounded one day and not spoken to till the next day; *in nocte consilium*.² So was it done in the Commission of Union between England and Scotland; which was a grave and orderly assembly. I commend set days for petitions; for both it gives the suitors more certainty for their attendance, and it frees the meetings for matters of estate, that they may *hoc agere*.³ In choice of committees for ripening business for the counsel, it is better to choose indifferent persons, than to make an indifferency by putting in those that are strong on both sides. I commend also standing commissions; as for trade, for treasure, for war, for suits, for some provinces; for where there be divers particular counsels and but one counsel of estate (as it is in Spain), they are, in effect, no more than standing commissions: save that they have greater authority. Let such as are to inform

¹ The best counsellors are the dead. "Alonso of Arragon was wont to say of himself, *That he was a great necromancer, for that he used to ask counsel of the dead*: meaning books." Bacon. *Apophthegmes New and Old*. 105 (78).

² In night is counsel, that is, the night brings counsel.

³ Do this one thing. *Plutarch. Life of Coriolanus*.

counsels out of their particular professions, (as lawyers, seamen, mintmen,¹ and the like,) be first heard before committees; and then, as occasion serves, before the counsel. And let them not come in multitudes, or in a tribunitious² manner, for that is to clamour³ counsels, not to inform them. A long table and a square table, or seats about the walls, seem things of form, but are things of substance; for at a long table a few at the upper end, in effect, sway all the business; but in the other form there is more use of the counsellors' opinions that sit lower.⁴ A king, when he presides in counsel, let him beware how he opens his own inclination too much in that which he propoundeth; for else counsellors will but take the wind of him, and instead of giving free counsel, sing him a song of *placebo*.⁵

¹ *Mintman.* One skilled in coining or in coins; a coiner.

² *Tribunitious.* Characteristic of a tribune, or of his power or functions. We do not get the wisest counsel from tribunes or demagogues, as Bacon goes on to say.

³ *Clamour.* To disturb with clamour; to din.

"Clamoured the livelong night."

Shakspeare. Macbeth. ii. 1.

⁴ "At Hawarden the G. O. M. [Grand Old Man, Gladstone] was somewhat hoarse, but cheerful and full of interesting talk on various topics. The geology of Norway and Psychical Research appeared to be the subjects that interested him most, but he told us one or two noteworthy things of a political bearing,—e.g. that the Cabinet now sit round a table, whereas they used to sit on chairs in a circle; he thinks the change a mistake, as leading to a less steady concentration of attention." *Henry Sidgwick. A Memoir by A. S. and E. M. S. Diary for September 30, 1885. p. 425.*

⁵ I will please. In the Roman Catholic Church, the vesper hymn for the dead, beginning, *Placebo Domino in regione vivorum*.

XXI. OF DELAYS.

FORTUNE is like the market ; where many times, if you can stay a little, the price will fall. And again, it is sometimes like Sibylla's¹ offer ; which at first offereth the commodity at full, then consumeth part and part, and still holdeth up the price. For occasion (as it is in the common verse) *turneth a bald noddle, after she hath presented her locks in front, and no hold taken*;² or at least turneth the handle of the bottle first to be received, and after the belly,³ which is hard to clasp. There is surely no greater wisdom than well to time the beginnings and onsets of things. Dangers are no more light, if they once seem light ;

¹ Bacon alludes to the Sibyl of Cumae in Italy, the most celebrated of the wise women. According to story, she appeared before Tarquin the Proud and offered him nine books for sale. He declined to buy them, whereupon she burned three and offered the remaining six at the original price. On being again refused, she destroyed three more and offered the remaining three at the price she had asked for the nine. Tarquin, unable to understand her importunity and her bargaining, bought the three books, which were found to contain directions as to the worship of the gods and the policy of the Romans. The Sibylline books were kept with great care at Rome, and were consulted from time to time under direction of the senate. They were burned in the fire which destroyed the temple of Jupiter, in 83 B.C.

² Spenser describes Occasion as an old woman lame of one leg. Her hair hangs down before her face, so that no one may know her, till she is past ; at the back of her head she is bald, so that when once she is past, no one may grasp her from behind. She personifies the truth that an opportunity once missed never returns. Read *The Faery Queene. Book II. Canto iv. Stanza 4.* A Latin proverb, from a distich of Dionysius Cato, runs :

"Fronte capillata, post est occasio calva.

Time hath a Lock before, but 's bald behind."

Catonis Distichorum de Moribus Liber II. 26.

³ Belly. *That part of a thing, here a bottle, which swells out.*

and more dangers have deceived men than forced them. Nay, it were better to meet some dangers half way, though they come nothing near, than to keep too long a watch upon their approaches; for if a man watch too long, it is odds he will fall asleep. On the other side, to be deceived with too long shadows (as some have been when the moon was low and shone on their enemies' back), and so to shoot off before the time; or to teach dangers to come on, by over early buckling¹ towards them; is another extreme. The ripeness or unripeness of the occasion (as we said) must ever be well weighed; and generally it is good to commit the beginnings of all great actions to Argos² with his hundred eyes, and the ends to Briareus³ with his hundred hands; first to watch, and then to speed. For the helmet of Pluto,⁴ which maketh the politic man go invisible, is secrecy in the counsel and celerity in

¹ *Buckle. To gird one's self; to apply one's self resolutely to.*

"And buckling soone himselfe, gan fiercely fly
Upon that carle, to save his friend from jeopardy."

Spenser. The Faery Queene. Book VI. Canto viii. Stanza 12.

² Argos, surnamed Panoptes (the all-seer), had one hundred eyes, some one of which was always awake. Hera (Juno) set him to guard Io, and Hermes killed him. After his death Hera transferred his eyes to the tail of the peacock. Spenser alludes to "Great Junoes golden chaire," which was

"Drawne of faire pecocks, that excell in pride,
And full of Argus eyes their tailes dispredden wide."

The Faery Queene. Book I. Canto iv. Stanza 17.

³ Briareus or Aegaeon, a giant with fifty heads and one hundred hands. Homer mentions him in *Iliad. I. 403.*

⁴ The helmet of Pluto, made by the Cyclops, had the peculiar property of rendering the wearer invisible. Mercury wore it in the battle with the giants, and Perseus in his contest with the Gorgons. Minerva puts it on when she is helping Diomedes against Mars on the plain of Troy. *Homer. Iliad. V. 845.* For Bacon's version of the fable of Perseus, see *Perseus; or War, in the Wisdom of the Ancients.*

the execution. For when things are once come to the execution, there is no secrecy comparable to celerity; like the motion of a bullet in the air, which flieth so swift as it outruns the eye.

XXII. OF CUNNING.

WE take Cunning for a sinister or crooked wisdom. And certainly there is a great difference between a cunning man and a wise man; not only in point of honesty, but in point of ability. There be that can pack the cards, and yet cannot play well; so there are some that are good in canvasses and factions, that are otherwise weak men. Again, it is one thing to understand persons, and another thing to understand matters; for many are perfect in men's humours, that are not greatly capable of the real part of business; which is the constitution of one that hath studied men more than books. Such men are fitter for practice than for counsel; and they are good but in their own alley:¹ turn them to new men, and they have lost their aim; so as the old rule to know a fool from a wise man, *Mitte ambos nudos ad ignotos, et videbis*,² doth scarce hold for them. And because these cunning men are like haber-

¹ *Alley.* A long narrow passage for playing at bowls; a metaphor from the game of bowls.

² Send both naked to those who do not know, and you will see. *Diogenes Laertius*, II. 73, attributes this saying to Aristippus. "One of the philosophers was asked; *What a wise man differed from a fool?* He answered; *Send them both naked to those that know them not, and you shall perceive.*" Bacon. *Apophthegmes New and Old.* 255 (189).

dashers¹ of small wares, it is not amiss to set forth their shop.

It is a point of cunning, to wait² upon him with whom you speak, with your eye; as the Jesuits give it in precept: for there be many wise men that have secret hearts and transparent countenances. Yet this would³ be done with a demure abasing of your eye sometimes, as the Jesuits also do use.

Another is, that when you have anything to obtain of present despatch, you entertain and amuse the party with whom you deal with some other discourse; that he be not too much awake to make objections. I knew a counsellor and secretary, that never came to Queen Elizabeth of England with bills to sign, but he would always first put her into some discourse of estate, that she mought the less mind the bills.

The like surprise may be made by moving⁴ things when the party is in haste, and cannot stay to consider advisedly of that is moved.

If a man would cross a business that he doubts some other would handsomely and effectually move, let him pretend to wish it well, and move it himself in such sort as may foil it.

The breaking off in the midst of that⁵ one was

¹ *Haberdasher. A dealer in small wares pertaining to dress, such as tape, thread, ribbon, etc.*

² *To wait upon or on. To look watchfully to. "Wait on the Lord; be of good courage, and he shall strengthen thy heart: wait, I say, on the Lord." Psalms xxvi. 14.*

³ *Would. Should.*

⁴ *Move. To propose or bring forward for consideration or acceptance.*

⁵ *That. What.*

about to say, as if he took himself up, breeds a greater appetite in him with whom you confer to know more.

And because it works better when anything seemeth to be gotten from you by question, than if you offer it of yourself, you may lay a bait for a question, by showing another visage and countenance than you are wont; to the end to give occasion for the party to ask what the matter¹ is of the change? As Nehemias did; *And I had not before that time been sad before the king.*²

In things that are tender and unpleasing, it is good to break the ice by some whose words are of less weight, and to reserve the more weighty voice to come in as by chance, so that he may be asked the question upon the other's speech; as Narcissus did, in relating to Claudius the marriage of Messalina and Silius.³

In things that a man would not be seen in himself, it is a point of cunning to borrow the name of the world; as to say, *The world says*, or *There is a speech abroad*.

I knew one that, when he wrote a letter, he would put that which was most material in the postscript, as if it had been a bye-matter.

I knew another that, when he came to have speech, he would pass over that that he intended most; and go forth, and come back again, and speak of it as of a thing that he had almost forgot.

¹ *Matter. Cause.*

"I have almost *matter* enough in me for such an embassy."
Shakspeare. Much Ado About Nothing. i. 1.

² *Nehemiah ii. 1.*

³ *Tacitus. Annalium Liber XI. 29.*

Some procure themselves to be surprised at such times as it is like the party that they work upon will suddenly come upon them; and to be found with a letter in their hand, or doing somewhat which they are not accustomed; to the end they may be apposed¹ of those things which of themselves they are desirous to utter.

It is a point of cunning, to let fall those words in a man's own name, which he would have another man learn and use, and thereupon take advantage. I knew two that were competitors for the secretary's place in Queen Elizabeth's time, and yet kept good quarter² between themselves; and would confer one with another upon the business; and the one of them said, That to be a secretary *in the declination*³ of a monarchy was a ticklish thing, and that he did not affect it: the other straight caught up those words, and discoursed with divers of his friends, that he had no reason to desire to be secretary in the declination of a monarchy. The first man took hold of it, and found means it was told the Queen; who hearing of *a declination of a monarchy*, took it so ill, as⁴ she would never after hear of the other's suit.⁵

¹ Appose. To examine; to question.

² Quarter. Relations with, or conduct towards, another, especially in the phrase to keep good (or fair) quarter with (between).

"So he would keep fair quarter with his bed."

Shakspeare. *The Comedy of Errors*. ii. 1.

³ Declination. A gradual falling off from a condition of prosperity or vigor; decline.

⁴ As. That.

⁵ In 1597, Sir Robert Cecil was made secretary of state over Sir Thomas Bodley, who was the candidate of the Earl of Essex. Mr. Spedding first suggested that Bacon is here relating a cunning trick played by his cousin, the younger Cecil.

There is a cunning, which we in England call *The turning of the cat in the pan*;¹ which is, when that which a man says to another, he lays it as if another had said it to him. And to say truth, it is not easy, when such a matter passed between two, to make it appear from which of them it first moved and began.

It is a way that some men have, to glance and dart at others by justifying themselves by negatives; as to say, *This I do not*: as Tigellinus did toward Burrhus, *Se non diversas spes, sed incolumitatem imperatoris simpliciter spectare*.²

Some have in readiness so many tales and stories, as there is nothing they would insinuate, but they can wrap it into a tale; which serveth both to keep themselves more in³ guard, and to make others carry it with more pleasure.

It is a good point of cunning, for a man to shape the answer he would have in his own words and propositions; for it makes the other party stick the less.

It is strange how long some men will lie in wait to speak somewhat they desire to say; and how far about they will fetch;⁴ and how many other matters

¹ *To turn the cat in the pan. To reverse the order of things so dexterously as to make them appear the very opposite of what they really are. The origin of the phrase is obscure.*

² That he had not expectations from different quarters, but looked simply to the safety of the emperor. *Tacitus. Annalium Liber XIV. 57.*

³ *In. On.* "But look you pray, all you that kiss my Lady Peace at home, that our armies join not in a hot day." *Shakspeare. II. King Henry IV. i. 2.*

⁴ *To fetch about. To take a roundabout course or method.*

"And, like a shifted wind unto a sail,
It makes the course of thoughts to fetch about."

Shakspeare. King John. iv. 2.

they will beat over, to come near it. It is a thing of great patience, but yet of much use.

A sudden, bold and unexpected question doth many times surprise a man, and lay him open. Like to him that, having changed his name and walking in Paul's, another suddenly came behind him and called him by his true name, whereat straight-ways he looked back.

But these small wares and petty points of cunning are infinite; and it were a good deed to make a list of them; for that nothing doth more hurt in a state than that cunning men pass for wise.

But certainly some there are that know the resorts¹ and falls² of business, that cannot sink into the main of it; like a house that hath convenient stairs and entries, but never a fair room. Therefore you shall see them find out pretty³ looses⁴ in the conclusion,⁵ but are no ways able to examine or debate matters. And yet commonly they take advantage of their inability, and would be thought wits of direction. Some build rather upon the

¹ *Resort.* Spring; active power or movement. A Gallicism.

² *Fall.* What befalls or happens; chance.

"Black be your fa'!"

Burns. *Address to the Deil.* xvi.

³ *Pretty.* Suitable; fit; convenient.

"Armado. Pretty and apt."

"Moth. How mean you, sir? I pretty and my saying apt, or I apt, and my saying pretty?"

Shakspeare. *Love's Labour's Lost.* i. 2.

⁴ *Loose.* Issue, way of escape. In archery, a loose is the discharge of the arrow or dart from the bow.

"The extreme dart of time extremely forms

All causes to the purpose of his speed;

And often, at his very loose, decides

That which long process could not arbitrate."

Shakspeare. *Love's Labour's Lost.* v. ii.

⁵ *Conclusion.* Final determination, decision, resolution.

abusing of others, and (as we now say) *putting tricks upon them*, than upon soundness of their own proceedings. But Salomon saith, *Prudens advertit ad gressus suos: stultus divertit ad dolos*.¹

XXIII. OF WISDOM FOR A MAN'S SELF.

AN ant is a wise creature for itself, but it is a shrewd² thing in an orchard or garden. And certainly men that are great lovers of themselves waste³ the public. Divide with reason between self-love and society; and be so true to thyself, as thou be not false to others;⁴ specially to thy king and country. It is a poor centre of a man's actions, him-

¹ The prudent man looks to his steps: the fool turns aside to deceits. *Proverbs xiv. 8*. This is a translation of Bacon's Latin. The *Authorized Version* is: "The wisdom of the prudent is to understand his way: but the folly of fools is deceit." As Bacon remembered this saying of Solomon's, it seems to be made up from two verses of the *Vulgate*, loosely quoted:—*Sapientia callidi est intelligere viam suam; et imprudentia stultorum errans*. *Proverbs xiv. 8*, and *astutus considerat gressus suos*. *Proverbs xiv. 15*.

² Shrewd. Sly, mischievous, unkind.

"Do my Lord of Canterbury
A shrewd turn, and he is your friend for ever."

Shakspeare. King Henry VIII. v. 2.

"For many are wise in their own ways that are weak for government or counsel; like ants, which is a wise creature for itself, but very hurtful for the garden." *Advancement of Learning. II. xiii. 10.*

³ Waste. To lay waste; to devastate.

⁴ "To thine own self be true;
And it must follow, as the night the day,
Thou canst not then be false to any man."

Shakspeare. Hamlet. i. 3.

self. It is right¹ earth. For that only stands fast upon his own centre;² whereas all things that have affinity with the heavens, move upon the centre of another, which they benefit. The referring of all to a man's self is more tolerable in a sovereign prince; because themselves are not only themselves, but their good and evil is at the peril of the public fortune. But it is a desperate evil in a servant to a prince, or a citizen in a republic. For whatsoever affairs pass such a man's hands, he crooketh³ them to his own ends; which must needs be often eccentric to the ends of his master or state. Therefore let princes, or states, choose such servants as have not this mark; except they mean their service should be made but the accessary.⁴ That which maketh the effect more pernicious is that all proportion is lost. It were disproportion enough for the servant's good to be preferred before the master's; but yet it is a greater extreme, when a little good of the servant shall carry things against a great good of the master's. And yet that is the case of bad officers, treasurers, ambassadors, generals, and other false and corrupt servants; which set a bias⁵ upon their bowl, of their own petty ends and envies, to the overthrow of their master's great and important affairs. And for the most part, the good such

¹ *Right. True, genuine, actual, real.* "The Poet is indeed the right Popular Philosopher. Whereof Esops tales give good prooffe." *Sir Philip Sidney. The Defense of Poesie. p. 18.*

² Bacon accepted the Ptolemaic system, which made the earth the centre of the universe. The Copernican system was not generally received until long after his time.

³ *Crook. To bend or turn out of the straight course; to pervert.*

⁴ *Accessary, also spelled accessory.*

⁵ *Bias. A weight in one side of the bowl, that is, 'ball,' which deflects it from the straight line.*

servants receive is after the model of their own fortune; but the hurt they sell for that good is after the model of their master's fortune. And certainly it is the nature of extreme self-lovers, as they will set an house on fire, and¹ it were but to roast their eggs;² and yet these men many times hold credit with their masters, because their study is but to please them and profit themselves; and for either respect they will abandon the good of their affairs.

Wisdom for a man's self is, in many branches thereof, a depraved thing. It is the wisdom of rats, that will be sure to leave a house somewhat before it fall. It is wisdom of the fox, that thrusts out the badger, who digged and made room for him. It is the wisdom of crocodiles, that shed tears when they would devour.³ But that which is specially to be noted is, that those which (as Cicero says of Pompey⁴) are *sui amantes sine rivali*,⁵ are many

¹ *And. If.*

² The motive of Lamb's essay, *A Dissertation upon Roast Pig*, turns on the drollery that the art of roasting was discovered in China by the accidental burning of a cottage containing "a fine litter of new-farrowed pigs, no less than nine in number."

³ "His nature is ever when he would have his prey to cry and sob like a Christian body, to provoke them to come to him, and then he snatcheth at them." Master John Hawkins's *Second Voyage. Hakluyt. p. 534. ed. 1598.*

"the mournful crocodile
With sorrow snares relenting passengers;"

Shakspeare. II. King Henry VI. iii. 1.

⁴ Cneius Pompeius Magnus, surnamed 'the Great,' 106-48 B.C. With Caesar and Crassus, Pompey formed the first triumvirate, 60 B.C. He was defeated by Caesar in the battle of Pharsalus, in Thessaly, 48 B.C.

⁵ Lovers of themselves, without a rival (*quam se ipse amans sine rivali*). Cicero, *Ad Quintum Fratrem. III. 8. 4. The Correspondence of M. Tullius Cicero. Robert Yelverton Tyrrell. Vol. II. p. 194.*

times unfortunate. And whereas they have all their times sacrificed to themselves, they become in the end themselves sacrifices to the inconstancy of fortune, whose wings they thought by their self-wisdom to have pinioned.

XXIV. OF INNOVATIONS.

As the births of living creatures at first are ill-shapen, so are all Innovations, which are the births of time. Yet notwithstanding, as those that first bring honour into their family are commonly more worthy than most that succeed, so the first precedent (if it be good) is seldom attained by imitation. For Ill, to man's nature as it stands perverted, hath a natural motion, strongest in continuance; but Good, as a forced motion, strongest at first. Surely every medicine¹ is an innovation; and he that will not apply new remedies must expect new evils; for time is the greatest innovator; and if time of course alter things to² the worse, and wisdom and counsel shall not alter them to the better, what shall be the end? It is true, that what is settled by custom, though it be not good, yet at least it is fit; and those things which have long gone together, are as it were confederate within themselves; whereas new things piece not so well; but though they help by their utility, yet they trouble by their inconformity.³ Be-

¹ *Medicine. Remedy.*

² *To. For.*

³ *Inconformity. Want of conformity 'to' ('unto') or 'with' a pattern; dissimilarity.*

* Last par. added

sides, they are like strangers ; more admired and less favoured. All this is true, if time stood still ; which contrariwise moveth so round,¹ that a froward retention of custom is as turbulent a thing as an innovation ; and they that reverence too much old times, are but a scorn to the new. It were good therefore that men in their innovations would follow the example of time itself ; which indeed innovateth greatly, but quietly, and by degrees scarce to be perceived. For otherwise, whatsoever is new is unlooked for ; and ever it mends some, and pairs² other ; and he that is holpen³ takes it for a fortune, and thanks the time ; and he that is hurt, for a wrong, and imputeth it to the author. It is good also not to try experiments in states, except the necessity be urgent, or the utility evident ; and well to beware that it be the reformation that draweth on the change, and not the desire of change that pretendeth the reformation. And lastly, that the novelty, though it be not rejected, yet be held for a suspect ;⁴ and, as the Scrip-

¹ *Round*, flat adverb, *quick, swift* ; the idea is of an easy, smooth, brisk motion, like that of a wheel.

"*Round* was their pace at first, but slacken'd soon."

Tennyson. Geraint and Enid.

² *Pairs. Impairs, injures.*

"No faith so fast (quoth she) but flesh does *paire*.

Flesh may *empaire* (quoth he) but reason can *repaire*."

Spenser. The Faery Queene. Book I. Canto vii. Stanza 41.

³ *Holpen.* Strong past participle of *help*.

"The holy blisful martir for to seeke,

That hem hath *holpen* whan that they were seeke."

Chaucer. The Prologue. ll. 17-18.

⁴ *Suspect. Suspicion.*

"My Lord of Gloster, 't is my special hope,

That you will clear yourself from all *suspect*."

Shakspeare. II. King Henry VI. iii. 1.

ture saith, *that we make a stand upon the ancient way, and then look about us, and discover what is the straight and right way, and so to walk in it.*¹

XXV. OF DISPATCH.

AFFECTED dispatch is one of the most dangerous things to business that can be. It is like that which the physicians call *predigestion*, or hasty digestion; which is sure to fill the body full of crudities and secret seeds of diseases. Therefore measure not dispatch by the times of sitting, but by the advancement of the business. And as in races it is not the large stride or high lift that makes the speed; so in business, the keeping close to the matter, and not taking of it too much at once, procureth dispatch. It is the care of some only to come off speedily for the time; or to contrive some false periods of business, because² they may seem men of dispatch. But it is one thing to abbreviate by contracting, another by cutting off. And business so handled at several sittings or meetings goeth commonly backward and forward in an unsteady manner. I knew a wise man that had it for a by-word, when he saw men hasten

¹ "Thus saith the Lord, Stand ye in the ways, and see, and ask for the old paths, where is the good way, and walk therein, and ye shall find rest for your souls." *Jeremiah vi. 16.*

² *Because. That, in order that,* usually followed by a redundant 'that.' "But this spake he of the Spirit, which they that believe on him should receive: for the Holy Ghost was not yet given; *because that Jesus was not yet glorified.*" *John vii. 39.*

to a conclusion, *Stay a little, that we may make an end the sooner.*¹

On the other side, true dispatch is a rich thing. For time is the measure of business, as money is of wares; and business is bought at a dear hand where there is small dispatch. The Spartans and Spaniards have been noted to be of small dispatch; *Mi venga la muerte de Spagna*;² *Let my death come from Spain*; for then it will be sure to be long in coming.

Give good hearing to those that give the first information in business; and rather direct them in the beginning, than interrupt them in the continuance of their speeches; for he that is put out of his own order will go forward and backward, and be more tedious while he waits upon his memory, than he could have been if he had gone on in his own course. But sometimes it is seen that the moderator is more troublesome than the actor.

Iterations³ are commonly loss of time. But there is no such gain of time as to iterate often the state of the question; for it chaseth away many a frivolous speech as it is coming forth. Long and curious speeches are as fit for dispatch, as a robe or mantle with a long train is for race. Prefaces and passages,⁴

¹ "Sir Amice Pawlet, when he saw too much haste made in any matter, was wont to say, *Stay a while, that we may make an end the sooner.*" Bacon. *Apophthegmes New and Old*. 76 (71). Sir Amias Paulet or Poulet, 1536(?)–1588, was keeper of Mary Queen of Scots from 1585 to her execution in 1587–1588. When Paulet was sent as the Queen's ambassador to France, in 1576, Bacon, then a lad of about sixteen, accompanied him as a member of his household.

² This proverb is a curious mixture of Italian and Spanish. It is an Italian saying and should read, *Mi venga la morte di Spagna*.

³ Iteration. Repetition.

"O, thou hast damnable iteration, and art, indeed, able to corrupt a saint."
Shakspeare. *I. King Henry IV.* i. 2.

⁴ Passages. Interchange of communications, negotiations.

and excusations,¹ and other speeches of reference to the person, are great wastes of time; and though they seem to proceed of² modesty, they are bravery. Yet beware of being too material³ when there is any impediment or obstruction in men's wills; for pre-occupation of mind ever requireth preface of speech; like a fomentation⁴ to make the unguent⁵ enter.

Above all things, order, and distribution, and singling out of parts, is the life of dispatch; so as the distribution be not too subtle: for he that doth not divide will never enter well into business; and he that divideth too much will never come out of it clearly. To choose time is to save time; and an unseasonable motion is but beating the air. There be three parts of business; the preparation, the debate or examination, and the perfection. Whereof, if you look for dispatch, let the middle only be the work of many, and the first and last the work of few. The proceeding upon somewhat conceived in writing doth for the most part facilitate dispatch: for though it should be wholly rejected, yet that negative is more pregnant of direction than an indefinite; as ashes are more generative than dust.

¹ *Excusations. Excuses.*

² *Of. From.* "And thou shalt receive them of their hands, and burn them upon the altar for a burnt offering, for a sweet savour before the Lord: it is an offering made by fire unto the Lord." *Exodus xxix. 25.*

³ *Material. Full of matter.*

"A material fool!"

Shakspeare. As You Like It. iii. 3.

⁴ *Fomentation. The application to the surface of the body either of flannels, etc., soaked in hot water, whether simple or medicated, or of any other warm, soft, medicinal substance.*

⁵ *Unguent. Any soft substance used as an ointment or for lubrication.*

XXVI. OF SEEMING WISE.¹

It hath been an opinion, that the French are wiser than they seem, and the Spaniards seem wiser than they are. But howsoever it be between nations, certainly it is so between man and man. For as the Apostle saith of godliness, *Having a shew of godliness, but denying the power thereof*;² so certainly there are in point of wisdom and sufficiency, that do nothing or little very solemnly: *magno conatu nugas*.³ It is a ridiculous thing and fit for a satire to persons of judgment, to see what shifts these formalists have, and what prospectives⁴ to make *superficies*⁵ to seem body that hath depth and bulk. Some are so close and reserved, as they will not shew their wares but

¹ "In the essay on *Seeming Wise* we can trace from the impatient notes put down in his *Commentarius Solutus*, the picture of the man who stood in his way, the Attorney-General Hobart." R. W. Church. Bacon, in *English Men of Letters*.

Sir Henry Hobart, d. 1625, chief justice of the common pleas. He became attorney-general July 4, 1606, and barred Bacon's path to promotion for seven years. The *Dictionary of National Biography* says of Hobart: "He was a very modest and learned lawyer, and as a judge escaped the charge of subserviency to the crown."

² II. Timothy iii. 5.

³ Play the fool with great effort. "*Nae, ista hercle magno jam conatu magnas nugas dixerit.*" Terence. *Heauton-timorumenos*. IV. 1.

A marginal note in the *Commentarius Solutus*, on "Hubbard's disadvantages" reads, "Solemn goose."

⁴ *Prospective*. A perspective glass, a telescope.

"What means my sister's eye so oft to passe
Through the long entry of that Optic glasse?"

.

And is this all? doth thy *Prospective* please
Th' abusèd fancy with no shapes but these?"

Francis Quarles. *Emblemes*. III. xiv. 1, 2, 13, 14.

⁵ *Superficies*. The surface.

by a dark light; and seem always to keep back somewhat; and when they know within themselves they speak of that they do not well know, would nevertheless seem to others to know of that which they may not well speak.¹ Some help themselves with countenance and gesture, and are wise by signs; as Cicero saith of Piso,² that when he answered him, he fetched one of his brows up to his forehead, and bent the other down to his chin; *Respondes, altero ad frontem sublato, altero ad mentum depresso supercilio, crudelitatem tibi non placere.*³ Some think to bear⁴ it by speaking a great word, and being peremptory; and go on, and take by admittance that which they cannot make good. Some, whatsoever is beyond their reach, will seem to despise or make light of it as impertinent⁵ or curious;⁶ and so would have their ignorance seem judgment. Some are never without a difference,⁷ and commonly by amusing men with a subtilty, blanch⁸ the matter; of whom A. Gellius⁹

¹ "Gravity is a mysterious carriage of the body, invented to cover the defects of the mind." *Maximes et Réflexions Morales du duc de La Rochefoucauld.* 257. (Paris. 1828.)

² Lucius Calpurnius Piso, Consul with Gabinius, 58 B.C., the year of Cicero's exile, father-in-law of Julius Caesar. Cicero's bitterest invective speech was delivered in the senate, against Piso, 55 B.C.

³ With one brow elevated to your forehead, and the other depressed to your chin, you respond that cruelty is not pleasing to you. *M. Tullii Ciceronis in L. Calpurnium Pisonem Oratio.* vi. 14.

⁴ Bear. Carry on, deal with.

"Beware

Of entrance to a quarrel; but being in,
Bear 't that th' opposèd may beware of thee."

Shakspeare. *Hamlet.* i. 3.

⁵ Impertinent, Latin sense, not pertaining to, irrelevant.

⁶ Curious. Over-nice, exacting.

⁷ Difference. A subtle distinction.

⁸ Blanch. Evade, pass over.

⁹ Aulus Gellius, born about 130 A.D., Roman grammarian; he wrote *Noctes Atticae*, in twenty books, first printed in 1469.

saith, *Hominem delirum, qui verborum minutiis rerum frangit pondera*.¹ Of which kind also, Plato² in his Protagoras bringeth in Prodicus in scorn, and maketh him make a speech that consisteth of distinctions from the beginning to the end. Generally, such men in all deliberations find ease to be of the negative side, and affect a credit to object and foretell difficulties; for when propositions are denied, there is an end of them; but if they be allowed, it requireth a new work; which false point of wisdom is the bane of business. To conclude, there is no decaying merchant, or inward beggar,³ hath so many tricks to uphold the credit of their wealth, as these empty persons have to maintain the credit of their sufficiency. Seeming wise men may make shift to get opinion; but let no man choose them for employment; for certainly you were better take for business a man somewhat absurd than over-formal.

¹ A foolish man who fritters away weighty matters with niceties of words. Bacon is not quoting Aulus Gellius here, but Quintilian, who says of Seneca: *si rerum pondera minutissimis sententiis non fregisset, consensu potius eruditorum quam puerorum amore comprobaretur*. If he had not broken the weight of things with the most minute sentences, he would have won the unanimous approval of the learned, rather than the admiration of boys. *M. Fabii Quintiliani de Institutione Oratoria Liber X. i. 130.*

² Plato, 429 or 427–347 B.C. His name was originally Aristocles, but he was surnamed Plato (Πλάτων) from his broad shoulders. A famous Greek philosopher, a disciple of Socrates and the teacher of Aristotle. Plato expounded his philosophy in a series of dialogues, of which the *Protagoras* is one. There is still no greater exposition of idealism than is contained in Plato's 'Dialogues.'

³ *Inward beggar*. One who is really bankrupt, though keeping up the appearance of solvency.

XXVII. OF FRIENDSHIP. —

It had been hard for him that spake it to have put more truth and untruth together in few words, than in that speech, *Whosoever is delighted in solitude is either a wild beast or a god.*¹ For it is most true that a natural and secret hatred and aversion² towards society in any man, hath somewhat of the savage beast; but it is most untrue that it should have any character at all of the divine nature; except³ it proceed, not out of a pleasure in solitude, but out of a love and desire to sequester a man's self for a higher conversation:⁴ such as is found to have been falsely and feignedly in some of the heathen; as Epimenides⁵ the Candian, Numa⁶ the Roman, Empedocles⁷ the Sicilian, and Apollonius

¹ "But he who is unable to live in society, or who has no need because he is sufficient for himself, must be either a beast or a god: he is no part of a state." *The Politics of Aristotle. Translated into English by B. Jowett. Vol. I. i. 2.*

² *Aversion towards. Aversion to.*

³ *Except. Unless.* "Jesus answered and said unto him, Verily, verily, I say unto thee, *Except* a man be born again, he cannot see the Kingdom of God." *John iii. 3.*

⁴ *Conversation. Mode or course of life.* "Who is a wise man and endued with knowledge among you? let him shew out of a good conversation his works with meekness of wisdom." *James iii. 13.*

⁵ Epimenides, a Cretan poet and prophet, who lived in the 7th century B.C. He was said to have fallen into a sleep that lasted fifty-seven years, and to have lived two hundred and ninety-nine years.

⁶ Numa Pompilius, second King of Rome, 715–672 B.C. The origin of many Roman institutions is referred to Numa, such as the flamens, vestal virgins, pontifices, etc. He was supposed to have been instructed in the art of legislation by the nymph Egeria.

⁷ Empedocles was born at Agrigentum, Sicily, and lived 490–430 B.C. He was a Greek philosopher, poet, and statesman. He was said to have declared himself to be immortal, and to be able to cure all evils.

of Tyana;¹ and truly and really in divers of the ancient hermits and holy fathers of the church. But little do men perceive what solitude is, and how far it extendeth. For a crowd is not company; and faces are but a gallery of pictures; and talk but a tinkling cymbal, where there is no love.² The Latin adage meeteth with it a little: *Magna civitas, magna solitudo*;³ because in a great town friends are scattered; so that there is not that fellowship, for the most part, which is in less neighbourhoods. But we may go further, and affirm most truly that it is a mere⁴ and miserable solitude to want true friends; without which the world is but a wilderness; and even in this sense also of solitude, whosoever in the frame of his nature and affections is unfit for friendship, he taketh it of the beast, and not from humanity.⁵

A principal fruit of friendship is the ease and discharge of the fulness and swellings of the heart,

¹ Apollonius was born at Tyana, Cappadocia, and lived from about 4 B.C. to about 97 A.D. He was a Pythagorean philosopher and reputed magician and wonder-worker. Divine honors were paid to Apollonius in the 3d century and his bust was placed by Alexander Severus in his *lararium* with those of Abraham, Orpheus, and Christ.

² "Though I speak with the tongues of men and of angels, and have not charity, I am become as sounding brass, or a tinkling cymbal." *I. Corinthians xiii. 1.*

³ A great city is a great solitude. *Erasmi Adagia.*

⁴ *Mere.* Absolute, utter, whole. "It is Othello's pleasure, our noble and valiant general, that, upon certain tidings now arrived, importing the mere perdition of the Turkish fleet, every man put himself into triumph." *Shakspeare. Othello. ii. 2.*

⁵ *Humanity.* Human nature; man in the abstract. "Oh, there be players that I have seen play, and heard others praise, and that highly, not to speak it profanely, that, neither having the accent of Christians nor the gait of Christian, pagan, nor Turk, have so strutted and bellowed, that I have thought some of Nature's journeymen had made them, and not made them well, they imitated humanity so abominably." *Shakspeare. Hamlet. iii. 2.*

which passions of all kinds do cause and induce. We know diseases of stoppings and suffocations are the most dangerous in the body; and it is not much otherwise in the mind; you may take sarza¹ to open the liver, steel to open the spleen, flower of sulphur² for the lungs, castoreum³ for the brain; but no receipt openeth the heart, but a true friend; to whom you may impart griefs, joys, fears, hopes, suspicions, counsels, and whatsoever lieth upon the heart to oppress it, in a kind of civil shrift or confession.

It is a strange thing to observe how high a rate great kings and monarchs do set upon this fruit of friendship whereof we speak: so great, as they purchase it many times at the hazard of their own safety and greatness. For princes, in regard of the distance of their fortune from that of their subjects and servants, cannot gather this fruit, except (to make themselves capable thereof) they raise some persons to be as it were companions and almost equals to themselves, which many times sorteth to inconvenience. The modern languages give unto such persons the name of favourites, or privadoes;⁴ as if it were matter of grace, or conversation. But the Roman name attaineth the true use and cause thereof, naming them *participes curarum*;⁵ for it is that which tieth the knot. And we see plainly that this hath been done, not by weak and passionate

¹ Sarza. Sarsaparilla.

² Flower of sulphur. A yellow powder formed by condensing the vapor of sulphur.

³ Castoreum. A secretion of the beaver formerly of high repute in medicine.

⁴ Privado. Spanish word, a private or intimate friend.

⁵ Sharers of cares, partners in sorrows.

* James (the last) of Buckingham

princes only, but by the wisest and most politic that ever reigned; who have oftentimes joined to themselves some of their servants; whom both themselves have called friends, and allowed others likewise to call them in the same manner; using the word which is received between private men.

L. Sylla,¹ when he commanded Rome, raised Pompey (after surnamed the Great) to that height, that Pompey vaunted himself for Sylla's over-match. For when he had carried the consulship for a friend of his, against the pursuit of Sylla, and that Sylla did a little resent thereat, and began to speak great, Pompey turned upon him again, and in effect bade him be quiet; *for that more men adored the sun rising than the sun setting.*² With Julius Cæsar, Decimus Brutus³ had obtained that interest, as he set him down in his testament for heir in remainder after his nephew. And this was the man that had power with him to draw him forth to his death. For when Cæsar would have discharged the senate, in regard of some ill presages, and specially a dream of Calpurnia;⁴ this man lifted him gently by the arm out of his chair, telling him he hoped he would not dismiss the senate till his wife had dreamt a better dream.⁵ And it seemeth his favour was so great, as Antonius, in a letter which is recited *verba-*

¹ Lucius Cornelius Sulla, surnamed Felix, lived from about 138 to 78 B.C., a celebrated Roman general and dictator.

² *Plutarch. Life of Pompey.*

³ Decimus Junius Brutus, surnamed Albinus, Roman general, one of the assassins of Caesar, executed 43 B.C. He was betrayed and put to death by Antony.

⁴ Calpurnia, daughter of Lucius Calpurnius Piso, and third wife of Caesar.

⁵ *Plutarch. Life of Caesar.*

tim in one of Cicero's Philippics,¹ calleth him *venefica, witch*; as if he had enchanted Cæsar.² Augustus raised Agrippa³ (though of mean birth) to that height, as⁴ when he consulted with Mæcenas⁵ about the marriage of his daughter Julia, Mæcenas took the liberty to tell him, *that he must either marry his daughter to Agrippa, or take away his life: there was no third way, he had made him so great.*⁶ With Tiberius Cæsar, Sejanus had ascended to that height, as they two were termed and reckoned as a pair of friends. Tiberius in a letter to him saith, *hæc pro amicitia nostrâ non occultavi*;⁷ and the whole senate dedicated an altar to Friendship, as to a goddess, in respect of the great dearness of friendship between them two. The like or more was between Septimius Severus and Plautianus. For he forced his eldest son to marry the daughter of Plautianus; and would often maintain Plautianus in doing affronts to his son; and did write also in a letter to the senate, by these words: *I love the man so well, as I wish he may over-live*⁸ me. Now if

¹ Cicero's Philippics are fourteen orations against Antony, delivered in 44–43. The original Philippics are Demosthenes's nine orations against Philip of Macedon.

² *M. Tullii Ciceronis in M. Antonium Oratio Philippica Tertia Decima. XI. 25.*

³ Marcus Vipsanius Agrippa, 63–12 B.C., Roman commander and the leading statesman of the reign of Augustus. His third wife was Julia, daughter of Augustus and widow of Marcellus.

⁴ *As. That.*

⁵ Caius Cilnius Maecenas, died 8 B.C., Roman statesman and patron of letters. With Agrippa, he was the chief adviser of Augustus down to 16 B.C., when he became estranged from his master and retired to private life. He was the friend and patron of Horace and Vergil.

⁶ *Dion Cassius. Liber LVI. 6.*

⁷ Because of our friendship, I have not concealed these things. *P. Cornelii Taciti Annalium Liber IV. 40.*

⁸ *Overlive. To survive; to outlive.* "And Israel served the Lord

these princes had been as a Trajan¹ or a Marcus Aurelius,² a man might have thought that this had proceeded of an abundant goodness of nature; but being men so wise, of such strength and severity of mind, and so extreme lovers of themselves, as all these were, it proveth most plainly that they found their own felicity (though as great as ever happened to mortal men) but as an half piece, except they mought³ have a friend to make it entire; and yet, which⁴ is more, they were princes that had wives, sons, nephews; and yet all these could not supply the comfort of friendship.

It is not to be forgotten what Comineus⁵ observeth of his first master, Duke Charles the Hardy;⁶ namely, that he would communicate⁷ his secrets with none; and least of all, those secrets which troubled him most. Whereupon he goeth on and

all the days of Joshua, and all the days of the elders that *overlived* Joshua, and which had known all the works of the Lord, that he had done for Israel." *Joshua xxiv. 31.* The quotation is from Dion Cassius Cocceianus (*Cassii Dionis Cocceiani Historiae Romanae Liber LXXV. 15*).

¹ Marcus Ulpius Trajanus, surnamed Dacicus and Parthicus, born about 53, died 117 A.D., Roman emperor from 98 to 117 A.D.

² Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, originally Marcus Annus Verus, commonly known as Marcus Aurelius, 121–180 A.D., Roman emperor from 161 to 180 A.D. He wrote, in Greek, a very celebrated book, entitled, *The Meditations of Marcus Antoninus*.

³ *Mought.* Old form of *might*.

"So sound he slept, that nought *mought* him awake."

Spenser. The Faery Queene. Book I. Canto i. Stanza 42.

⁴ *Which.* *What.*

"Which a miracle ther befel anoon."

Chaucer. The Knightes Tale. Line 1817.

⁵ Philippe de Comines, or Commynes, or Comynes, born about 1445, died in 1519, a French statesman and historian.

⁶ Charles the Bold (French, *le Téméraire*), 1433–1477, Duke of Burgundy.

⁷ *Communicate.* To inform a person of; to tell. Now construed with 'to' instead of 'with.'

saith that towards his latter time *that closeness did impair and a little perish*¹ *his understanding*. Surely Comineus mought have made the same judgment also, if it had pleased him, of his second master Lewis the Eleventh,² whose closeness was indeed his tormentor. The parable³ of Pythagoras⁴ is dark, but true; *Cor ne edito: Eat not the heart*.⁵ Certainly, if a man would give it a hard phrase, those that want friends to open themselves unto are cannibals of their own hearts. But one thing is most admirable (wherewith I will conclude this first fruit of friendship), which is, that this communicating of a man's self to his friend works two contrary effects; for it redoubleth joys, and cutteth griefs in halves. For there is no man that imparteth his joys to his friend, but he joyeth the more: and no man that imparteth his griefs to his friend, but he grieveth the less. So that it is in truth of operation upon a man's mind, of like virtue as the alchymists use to attribute to their stone for man's body; that it worketh all contrary effects, but still to the good and benefit of nature. But

¹ *Perish*, a transitive verb.

"You are an innocent,
A soul as white as Heaven; let not my sins
Perish your noble youth."

Beaumont and Fletcher. The Maid's Tragedy. iv. 1.

² Louis XI., 1423–1483, King of France from 1461 to 1483. The historical setting of Sir Walter Scott's great novel, *Quentin Durward*, based largely on the *Mémoires* of Philippe de Comines, is the time of Louis XI. and Charles the Bold.

³ *Parable* means *proverb* here.

⁴ Pythagoras, born about 582 B.C., died about 500 B.C., Greek philosopher and mathematician.

⁵ *A Discourse Touching the Training of Children. 17. Plutarch's Miscellanies and Essays. Vol. I. Edited by W. W. Goodwin. With Introduction by Ralph Waldo Emerson.*

yet without praying¹ in aid of alchymists, there is a manifest image of this in the ordinary course of nature. For in bodies, union strengtheneth and cherisheth any natural action; and on the other side weakeneth and dulleth any violent impression: and even so it is of² minds.

The second fruit of friendship is healthful and sovereign for the understanding, as the first is for the affections. For friendship maketh indeed a fair day in the affections, from storm and tempest; but it maketh daylight in the understanding, out of darkness and confusion of thoughts. Neither is this to be understood only of faithful counsel, which a man receiveth from his friend; but before you come to that, certain it is that whosoever hath his mind fraught with many thoughts, his wits and understanding do clarify and break up, in the communicating and discoursing with another; he tosseth his thoughts more easily; he marshalleth them more orderly; he seeth how they look when they are turned into words: finally, he waxeth³ wiser than himself; and that more by an hour's discourse than by a day's meditation. It was well said by Themistocles⁴ to the king of Persia, *That speech was*

¹ *Pray in aid*, in law, to call in as aid, one who has an interest in the cause.

"and you shall find

A conqueror that will *pray in aid* for kindness,
Where he for grace is kneel'd to."

Shakspeare. Antony and Cleopatra. v. 2.

² *Of* means here with regard to, concerning.

³ *Wax. To grow; to become.* "And because iniquity shall abound, the love of many shall *wax* cold." *Matthew xxiv. 12.*

⁴ Themistocles, born in the latter part of the 6th century B.C., died about 460 B.C., perhaps as late as 447 B.C., Athenian statesman and commander.

like cloth of Arras,¹ opened and put abroad; whereby the imagery doth appear in figure; whereas in thoughts they lie but as in packs.² Neither is the second fruit of friendship, in opening the understanding, restrained³ only to such friends as are able to give a man counsel; (they indeed are best;) but even without that, a man learneth of himself, and bringeth his own thoughts to light, and whetteth his wits as against a stone, which itself cuts not. In a word, a man were better⁴ relate himself to a statua⁵ or picture, than to suffer his thoughts to pass in smother.⁶

Add now, to make this second fruit of friendship complete, that other point which lieth more open and falleth within vulgar⁷ observation; which is faithful counsel from a friend. Heraclitus saith well in one of his enigmas, *Dry light is ever the best*.⁸

¹ *Cloth of Arras*. Tapestry, from Arras, the capital of the department of Pas-de-Calais, in the north of France. The expression 'cloth of Arras' was probably used originally to distinguish tapestry from Arras from other kinds.

² *Plutarch. Life of Themistocles*. "Themistocles said of speech: That it was like Arras, that spread abroad shews fair images, but contracted is but like packs." *Bacon. Apophthegmes New and Old*. 199.

³ *Restrained. Restricted, limited*.

⁴ *Were better*. Old English idiom, with *be* and the dative, *him were better*, that is, 'it would be better for him.' The correct modern form of the idiom is *had better*, with the verb 'have' meaning 'hold' or 'regard,' like the Latin *habere*.

⁵ "And, in his mantle muffling up his face,
Even at the base of Pompey's statua,
Which all the while ran blood, great Caesar fell."

Shakspeare. Julius Caesar. iii. 2.

⁶ *Smother. The state of being stifled; suppression*.

⁷ *Vulgar. Common*.

"Be thou familiar, but by no means vulgar."

Shakspeare. Hamlet. i. 3.

⁸ Read, for this same thought, in the *Wisdom of the Ancients, The Flight of Icarus; also, Scylla and Charybdis; or the Middle Way*. Also, *Apophthegmes New and Old*. 268 (188).

And certain it is, that the light that a man receiveth by counsel from another, is drier and purer than that which cometh from his own understanding and judgment; which is ever infused and drenched in his affections and customs. So as there is as much difference between the counsel that a friend giveth, and that a man giveth himself, as there is between the counsel of a friend and of a flatterer. For there is no such flatterer as is a man's self; and there is no such remedy against flattery of a man's self, as the liberty of a friend. Counsel is of two sorts: the one concerning manners, the other concerning business. For the first, the best preservative to keep the mind in health is the faithful admonition of a friend. The calling of a man's self to a strict account is a medicine, sometime, too piercing and corrosive. Reading good books of morality is a little flat and dead. Observing our faults in others is sometimes improper for our case. But the best receipt (best, I say, to work, and best to take) is the admonition of a friend. It is a strange thing to behold what gross errors and extreme absurdities many (especially of the greater sort) do commit, for want of a friend to tell them of them; to the great damage both of their fame and fortune: for, as St. James saith, they are as men *that look sometimes into a glass, and presently forget their own shape and favour*.¹ As for business, a man may think, if he will, that two eyes see no more than one; or that

¹ "For if any be a hearer of the word, and not a doer, he is like a man beholding his natural face in a glass: For he beholdeth himself, and goeth his way, and straightway forgetteth what manner of man he was." *James i. 23, 24.*

a gamester seeth always more than a looker-on; or that a man in anger is as wise as he that hath said over the four and twenty letters;¹ or that a musket may be shot off as well upon the arm as upon a rest; and such other fond² and high imaginations, to think himself all in all. But when all is done, the help of good counsel is that which setteth business straight. And if any man think that he will take counsel, but it shall be by pieces; asking counsel in one business of one man, and in another business of another man; it is well, (that is to say, better perhaps than if he asked none at all;) but he runneth two dangers: one, that he shall not be faithfully counselled; for it is a rare thing, except it be from a perfect and entire friend, to have counsel given, but such as shall be bowed and crooked to some ends which he hath that giveth it. The other, that he shall have counsel given, hurtful and unsafe, (though with good meaning,) and mixed partly of mischief and partly of remedy; even as if you would call a physician that is thought good for the cure of the disease you complain of, but is unacquainted with your body; and therefore may put you in way for a present cure, but overthroweth your health in some other kind; and so cure the disease and kill the patient. But a friend

¹ *The English Grammar* of Ben Jonson limits the English alphabet to "four and twenty letters," omitting J and U. This means that in his time and Bacon's J had not yet been differentiated from I, nor U from V, although U was coming in. U and J are modern letters.

² *Fond. Foolish.*

"'T is *fond* to wail inevitable strokes,
As 't is to laugh at 'em."

Shakspeare, Coriolanus. iv. 1.

that is wholly acquainted with a man's estate¹ will beware, by furthering any present business, how he dasheth upon other inconvenience. And therefore rest not upon scattered counsels; they will rather distract and mislead, than settle and direct.

After these two noble fruits of friendship, (peace in the affections, and support of the judgment,) followeth the last fruit; which is like the pomegranate, full of many kernels; I mean aid and bearing a part in all actions and occasions. Here the best way to represent to life the manifold use of friendship, is to cast and see how many things there are which a man cannot do himself; and then it will appear that it was a sparing speech of the ancients, to say, *that a friend is another himself*; for that² a friend is far more than himself. Men have their time, and die many times in desire of some things which they principally take to heart; the bestowing of a child, the finishing of a work, or the like. If a man have a true friend, he may rest almost secure that the care of those things will continue after him. So that a man hath, as it were, two lives in his desires. A man hath a body, and that body is confined to a place; but where friendship is, all offices of life are as it were granted to him and his deputy. For he may exercise them by his friend. How many things are there which a man cannot, with any face or comeliness, say or do himself? A man can scarce allege his own merits with modesty, much less

¹ Estate. State or condition.

² For that. Because.

extol them ;¹ a man cannot sometimes brook to supplicate or beg ; and a number of the like. But all these things are graceful in a friend's mouth, which are blushing in a man's own. So again, a man's person hath many proper² relations which he cannot put off. A man cannot speak to his son but as a father ; to his wife but as a husband ; to his enemy but upon terms : whereas a friend may speak as the case requires, and not as it sorteth with the person. But to enumerate these things were endless ; I have given the rule, where a man cannot fitly play his own part : if he have not a friend, he may quit the stage.³

¹ "It is an abominable thing for a man to commend himself." Quoted in Sterne's *Tristram Shandy*, Vol. I. Ch. xxi., from Dr. Joseph Hall, Bishop of Exeter, *Divine Art of Meditation*.

² *Proper. Peculiar.*

"And so, with great imagination,
Proper to madmen, led his powers to death,
And, winking, leap'd into destruction."

Shakspeare. II. King Henry IV. i. 3.

³ In the last year of Bacon's life, at the special request of his friend, Sir Tobie Matthew, he rewrote entirely the essay on *Friendship*, to commemorate their lifelong intimacy. Sir Tobie Matthew, 1577-1655, courtier, diplomatist, and writer, was the son of Tobie, or Tobias, Matthew, Archbishop of York. Bacon and Matthew, who was the junior by sixteen years, became friends when Matthew entered Parliament, in 1601, and their affection knew no break through every variation of both their fortunes. Bacon held a high opinion of Matthew's literary judgment, and submitted his writings to him for criticism from time to time, among other pieces his book, *De Sapientia Veterum*, with an accompanying letter, dated Feb. 17, 1610.

In 1618, Matthew, who had lived in Italy, and had there become a Roman Catholic, published in London an Italian translation of the *Essays*, entitled, *Saggi Morali del Signore Francesco Bacone, Cavaliere inglese, gran cancelliere d'Inghelterra, con un' altro suo Trattato della Sapienza degli Antichi*.

A dedicatory letter to Cosimo dei Medici II., Grand Duke of Tuscany, eulogizes Sir Francis Bacon, praising him not only for the qualities of his intellect, but also for those of the heart and will, and moral understanding: "being a man most sweet in his conversation and ways, grave in his judgment, invariable in his fortunes, splendid in his expenses; a friend unalterable to his friends;

XXVIII. OF EXPENSE.

RICHES are for spending, and spending for honour and good actions. Therefore extraordinary expense must be limited by the worth of the occasion; for voluntary undoing may be as well for a man's country as for the kingdom of heaven. But ordinary expense ought to be limited by a man's estate; and governed with such regard, as¹ it be within his compass; and not subject to deceit and abuse of servants; and ordered to the best shew, that the bills may be less than the estimation abroad. Certainly, if a man will keep² but of even hand, his ordinary expenses ought to be but to the half of his receipts; and if he think to wax rich, but to the third part. It is no baseness for the greatest to descend and look into their own estate. Some forbear it, not upon negligence alone, but doubting³

an enemy to no man; a most hearty and indefatigable servant to the King, and a most earnest lover of the Public,—having all the thoughts of that large heart of his set upon adorning the age in which he lives, and benefiting as far as possible the whole human race."

When Bacon was impeached, Matthew was of the few who remained faithful to him. He wrote a letter to his old friend, in his disgrace and downfall, which Bacon compared to 'old gold.'

The episode is the most pleasing personal one in Bacon's life, and should be remembered to his credit in any judgment of the baseness of his conduct towards Essex.

¹ *As. That.*

² *Keep but of even hand. Balance his expenses carefully.*

³ *Doubt. To fear, be afraid (that something uncertain will take or has taken place); to suspect.*

"Doubt thou the stars are fire;
Doubt that the Sun doth move;
Doubt truth to be a liar;
But never doubt I love."

Shakspeare. Hamlet. ii. 2.

to bring themselves into melancholy, in respect¹ they shall find it broken. But wounds cannot be cured without searching. He that cannot look into his own estate at all, had need both choose well those whom he employeth, and change them often; for new are more timorous and less subtle. He that can look into his estate but seldom, it behoveth him to turn all to certainties. A man had need, if he be plentiful in some kind of expense, to be as saving again in some other. As if he be plentiful in diet, to be saving in apparel; if he be plentiful in the hall, to be saving in the stable; and the like. For he that is plentiful in expenses of all kinds will hardly be preserved from decay. In clearing of a man's estate, he may as well hurt himself in being too sudden, as letting it run on too long. For hasty selling is commonly as disadvantageable² as interest. Besides, he that clears at once will relapse; for finding himself out of straits, he will revert to his customs: but he that cleareth by degrees induceth a habit of frugality, and gaineth as well upon his mind as upon his estate. Certainly, who³ hath a state to repair, may not despise small things; and commonly it is less dishonourable to abridge petty charges, than to stoop to petty gettings. A man ought warily to begin charges which once begun will continue: but in matters that return not he may be more magnificent.

¹ *Respect. Relation, regard, case.*

² *Disadvantageable. Disadvantageous.*

³ *Who. He who.*

"I dare do all that may become a man;
Who dares do more, is none."

Shakspeare. Macbeth. i. 7.

XXIX. OF THE TRUE GREATNESS OF KINGDOMS AND ESTATES.

THE speech of Themistocles the Athenian, which was haughty and arrogant in taking so much to himself, had been a grave and wise observation and censure, applied at large to others. Desired at a feast to touch a lute, he said, *He could not fiddle, but yet he could make a small town a great city.*¹ These words (holpen a little with a metaphor) may express two differing abilities in those that deal in business of estate. For if a true survey be taken of counsellors and statesmen, there may be found (though rarely) those which can make a small state great, and yet cannot fiddle: as on the other side, there will be found a great many that can fiddle very cunningly,² but yet are so far from being able to make a small state great, as³ their gift lieth the other way; to bring a great and flourishing estate to ruin and decay. And, certainly those degenerate arts and shifts, whereby many counsellors and governors gain both favour with their masters and estimation with the vulgar, deserve no better name than fiddling; being things rather pleasing for the time, and graceful to themselves only, than tending to the

¹ Bacon quotes from Plutarch's *Life of Themistocles*, or the *Life of Cimon*, where Themistocles's haughty speech is repeated. He makes the same quotation in the *Advancement of Learning*, V. I. iii. 8.

² *Cunningly. Skilfully.* Compare *Psalms cxxxvii. 5*: "If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, let my right hand forget her *cunning*," i.e. her *skill*.

³ *As. That.*

weal and advancement of the state which they serve. There are also (no doubt) counsellors and governors which may be held sufficient (*negotiis pares*),¹ able to manage affairs, and to keep them from precipices and manifest inconveniences; which nevertheless are far from the ability to raise and amplify an estate in power, means, and fortune. But be the workmen what they may be, let us speak of the work; that is, the true Greatness of Kingdoms and Estates, and the means thereof. An argument² fit for great and mighty princes to have in their hand; to the end that neither by over-measuring their forces, they leese themselves in vain enterprises; nor on the other side, by undervaluing them, they descend to fearful and pusillanimous counsels.

The greatness of an estate in bulk and territory, doth fall under measure; and the greatness of finances and renew doth fall under computation. The population may appear by musters; and the number and greatness of cities and towns by cards and maps. But yet there is not any thing amongst civil affairs more subject to error, than the right valuation and true judgment concerning the power and forces of an estate. The kingdom of heaven is compared, not to any great kernel or nut, but to a grain of mustard-seed; which is one of the least grains, but hath in it a property and spirit hastily to get up and spread.³ So are there states great in

¹ *Negotiis pares*, equal to negotiations, or, as Bacon translates, 'able to manage affairs.'

² *Argument. Subject, theme.* "It would be argument for a week, laughter for a month, and a good jest forever." *Shakspeare. I. King Henry IV. ii. 2.*

³ *Mark iv. 30, 31, 32.*

territory, and yet not apt to enlarge or command; and some that have but a small dimension of stem, and yet apt¹ to be the foundations of great monarchies.

Walled towns, stored arsenals and armories, goodly races of horse, chariots of war, elephants, ordnance, artillery, and the like; all this is but a sheep in a lion's skin, except the breed and disposition of the people be stout and warlike. Nay, number (itself) in armies importeth not much, where the people is of weak courage; for (as Virgil saith) *It never troubles a wolf how many the sheep be.*² The army of the Persians in the plains of Arbela was such a vast sea of people, as it did somewhat astonish the commanders in Alexander's army; who came to him therefore, and wished him to set upon them by night; but he answered, *He would not pilfer the victory.* And the defeat was easy. When Tigranes³ the Armenian, being encamped upon a hill with four hundred thousand men, discovered the army of the Romans, being not above fourteen thousand, marching towards him, he made himself merry with it, and said, *Yonder men are too many for an ambassage, and too few for a fight.*⁴ But before the sun set, he found them enow⁵ to give him the chase with infinite slaughter. Many are the examples of the great odds between number and courage: so that a man may

¹ Apt. Suited, fitted.

² *Ecloga VII.* 52.

³ Tigranes, died 55(?) B.C., King of Armenia, son-in-law of Mithridates the Great.

⁴ Quoted from Plutarch's *Life of Lucius Licinius Lucullus*, consul 74 B.C., and conqueror of Mithridates and Tigranes.

⁵ Enow. Old plural of enough. "Take with you enow of men." Scott. *Ivanhoe.* XXXII.

truly make a judgment, that the principal point of greatness in any state is to have a race of military men. Neither is money the sinews¹ of war (as it is trivially said,) where the sinews of men's arms, in base and effeminate people, are failing. For Solon² said well to Crœsus³ (when in ostentation he shewed him his gold), *Sir, if any other come that hath better iron than you, he will be master of all this gold.*⁴ Therefore let any prince or state think soberly of his forces, except his militia of natives be of good and valiant soldiers. And let princes, on the other side, that have subjects of martial disposition, know their own strength; unless they be otherwise wanting unto themselves. As for mercenary forces (which is the help in this case), all examples show that whatsoever estate or prince doth rest upon them, *he may spread his feathers for a time, but he will mew*⁵ *them soon after.*

The blessing of Judah and Issachar will never meet; *that the same people or nation should be both the lion's whelp*⁶ *and the ass between burthens;*⁷ neither

¹ *Money the sinews of war.* Aeschines attributes this metaphor to Demosthenes. But Cicero, in his fifth Philippic against Antony, (*M. Tullii Ciceronis in M. Antonium Oratio Philippica Quinta. I. 5*), uses the expression *nervos belli, pecuniam infinitam.*

“Though old the thought,
And oft exprest,
’T is his at last
Who says it best.”

² Solon, 638(?)–559(?) B.C., Athenian lawgiver.

³ Croesus became King of Lydia in 560 B.C., and was defeated and taken prisoner by Cyrus, King of Persia, in 546 B.C.

⁴ *Lucian. Charon.*

⁵ *Mew. To shed the feathers; to moult.*

⁶ “Judah is a lion's whelp.” *Genesis xlix. 9.*

⁷ “Issachar is a strong ass, couching down between two burdens.” *Genesis xlix. 9.*

will it be, that a people overlaid with taxes should ever become valiant and martial. It is true that taxes levied by consent of the estate do abate men's courage less: as it hath been seen notably in the excises of the Low Countries; and, in some degree, in the subsidies of England. For you must note that we speak now of the heart and not of the purse. So that although the same tribute and tax, laid by consent or by imposing, be all one to the purse, yet it works diversly¹ upon the courage. So that you may conclude, *that no people over-charged with tribute is fit for empire.*

Let states that aim at greatness, take heed how their nobility and gentlemen do multiply too fast. For that maketh the common subject grow to be a peasant and base swain, driven out of heart, and in effect but the gentleman's labourer. Even as you may see in coppice woods; if you leave your staddles² too thick, you shall never have clean underwood, but shrubs and bushes. So in countries, if the gentlemen be too many, the commons will be base; and you will bring it to that, that not the hundred³ poll will be fit for an helmet; especially as to the infantry, which is the nerve of an army; and so there will be great population and little strength. This which I speak of hath been no where better seen than by comparing of England and France; whereof England, though far less in territory and population,

¹ *Diversly. Differently, diversely*, of which 'diversly' was a common spelling before 1700.

² *Staddle. A young tree left standing when the underwood is cut down.*

³ *Hundred*, used as an ordinal, *hundredth*, as still in composite numbers,—for example, *hundred and tenth*.

hath been (nevertheless) an over-match; in regard¹ the middle people of England make good soldiers, which the peasants of France do not. And herein the device of king Henry the Seventh (whereof I have spoken largely in the history of his life) was profound and admirable; in making farms and houses of husbandry of a standard; that is, maintained with such a proportion of land unto them, as may breed a subject to live in convenient plenty and no servile condition; and to keep the plough in the hands of the owners, and not mere hirelings.² And thus indeed you shall attain to Virgil's character which he gives to ancient Italy:

Terra potens armis atque ubere glebæ:³

Neither is that state (which, for any thing I know, is almost peculiar to England, and hardly to be found any where else, except it be perhaps in Poland) to be passed over; I mean the state⁴ of free servants and attendants upon noblemen and gentlemen;

¹ *In regard. Since; because.*

"Charles, and the rest, it is enacted thus:
That, *in regard* King Henry gives consent,

You shall become true liegemen to his crown."

Shakspeare. I. King Henry VI. v. 4.

"I cannot say I ever saw an adder, *in regard* there are none in these parts." *Scott. The Pirate. XXVIII.*

² The importance to a state of maintaining a free and contented agricultural class was a subject much considered by Bacon. Besides the discussion of it in his *History of Henry VII*, the Journal of the House of Commons records that Bacon's first speech in the ninth Parliament of Elizabeth, which met October 24, 1597, was on a motion he had himself made, "against depopulation of towns and houses of husbandry, and for the maintenance of husbandry and tillage."

³ Land powerful in arms and in fertility of soil. *Vergil. Aeneidos Liber I. 531.*

⁴ *State. Class or order.*

which are no ways inferior unto the yeomanry for arms. And therefore out of all question, the splendour and magnificence and great retinues and hospitality of noblemen and gentlemen, received into custom, doth much conduce unto martial greatness. Whereas, contrariwise, the close and reserved living of noblemen and gentlemen causeth a penury of military forces.

By all means it is to be procured,¹ that the trunk of Nebuchadnezzar's tree² of monarchy be great enough to bear the branches and the boughs; that is, that the natural subjects of the crown or state bear a sufficient proportion to the stranger subjects that they govern. Therefore all states that are liberal of naturalization towards strangers are fit for empire. For to think that an handful of people can, with the greatest courage and policy in the world, embrace too large extent of dominion, it may hold for a time, but it will fail suddenly. The Spartans were a nice³ people in point of naturalization; whereby, while they kept their compass, they stood firm; but when they did spread, and their boughs were becomen too great for their stem, they became a windfall upon the sudden. Never any state was in this point so open to receive strangers into their body as were the Romans. Therefore it sorted with them accordingly; for they grew to the greatest monarchy. Their manner was to grant naturalisa-

¹ *Procure. To bring about by care and pains.*

"Proceed, Solinus, to procure my fall."

Shakspeare. The Comedy of Errors. i. 1.

² *Daniel iv. 10, and following.*

³ *Nice. Discriminating, particular.*

tion (which they called *jus civitatis*),¹ and to grant it in the highest degree; that is, not only *jus commercii*, *jus connubii*, *jus hæreditatis*; but also *jus suffragii*, and *jus honorum*.² And this not to singular³ persons alone, but likewise to whole families; yea to cities, and sometimes to nations. Add to this their custom of plantation of colonies; whereby the Roman plant was removed into the soil of other nations. And putting both constitutions together, you will say that it was not the Romans that spread upon the world, but it was the world that spread upon the Romans; and that was the sure way of greatness. I have marvelled sometimes at Spain, how they clasp and contain so large dominions with so few natural Spaniards; but sure the whole compass of Spain is a very great body of a tree; far above Rome and Sparta at the first. And besides, though they have not had that usage to naturalise liberally, yet they have that which is next to it; that is, to employ almost indifferently all nations in their militia of ordinary soldiers; yea and sometimes in their highest commands. Nay it seemeth at this instant they are sensible of this want of natives; as by the Pragmatical Sanction,⁴ now published, appeareth.

It is certain, that sedentary and within-door arts, and delicate manufactures (that require rather the

¹ Right of citizenship.

² Right of trade, right of marriage, right of inheritance; right of suffrage, and right of honors, that is, 'right of holding office.'

³ Singular. Single.

⁴ In 1622, Philip IV., 1605–1665, King of Spain, 1621–1665, issued a royal decree, or *pragmática*, which granted certain privileges to those who married and established certain immunities for the parents of six children or more.

finger than the arm), have in their nature a contrariety to a military disposition. And generally, all warlike people are a little idle, and love danger better than travail.¹ Neither must they be too much broken of it, if they shall be preserved in vigour. Therefore it was great advantage in the ancient states of Sparta, Athens, Rome, and others, that they had the use of slaves, which commonly did rid² those manufactures. But that is abolished, in greatest part, by the Christian law. That which cometh nearest to it, is to leave those arts chiefly to strangers (which for that purpose are the more easily to be received), and to contain the principal bulk of the vulgar natives within those three kinds,—tillers of the ground; free servants; and handicraftsmen of strong and manly arts, as smiths, masons, carpenters, &c.: not reckoning professed soldiers.

But above all, for empire and greatness, it importeth most, that a nation do profess arms as their principal honour, study, and occupation. For the things which we formerly have spoken of are but habilitations towards arms; and what is habilitation³ without intention and act? Romulus,⁴ after his

¹ *Travail. Labor, work.* "Neither did we eat any man's bread for nought; but wrought with labour and *travail* night and day, that we might not be chargeable to any of you." *II. Thessalonians iii. 8.*

² *Rid. To accomplish; to dispatch; to achieve.*

"We, having now the best at Barnet field,
Will thither straight, for willingness *rids* way."

Shakspeare. III. King Henry VI. v. 3.

³ *Habilitation. The action of enabling or endowing with ability or fitness; capacitation; qualification.*

⁴ Romulus, the legendary founder of Rome, in 753 B.C., and first King of Rome, 753–716 B.C. He was said to be the son of Mars and the vestal Rhea Silvia, and after his death he was worshipped as a divinity under the name Quirinus.

death (as they report or feign), sent a present¹ to the Romans, that above all they should intend² arms; and then they should prove the greatest empire of the world. The fabric of the state of Sparta was wholly (though not wisely) framed and composed to that scope and end. The Persians and Macedonians had it for a flash. The Gauls, Germans, Goths, Saxons, Normans, and others, had it for a time. The Turks have it at this day, though in great declination. Of Christian Europe, they that have it are, in effect, only the Spaniards. But it is so plain *that every man profiteth in that he most intendeth*, that it needeth not to be stood³ upon. It is enough to point at it; that no nation which doth not directly profess arms, may look to have greatness fall into their mouths. And on the other side, it is a most certain oracle of time, that those states that continue long in that profession (as the Romans and Turks principally have done) do wonders. And those that have professed arms but for an age, have notwithstanding commonly attained that greatness in that age which maintained them long after, when their profession and exercise of arms hath grown to decay.

Incident⁴ to this point is, for a state to have those laws or customs which may reach forth unto them

¹ *Present.* Any writ or writing; a mandate.

"What *present* hast thou there?"

Shakspeare. Love's Labour's Lost. iv. 3.

² *Intend.* To direct the mind or attention to; to pay heed.

³ *To stand upon.* To dwell on; to linger over, as a subject of thought. "But since the authors of most of our sciences were the Romans, and before them the Greeks, let us a little *stand upon* their authorities." *Sir Philip Sidney. The Defense of Poesie. p. 5.*

⁴ *Incident to.* Relating or pertinent to.

just occasions (as may be pretended)¹ of war. For there is that justice imprinted in the nature of men, that they enter not upon wars (whereof so many calamities do ensue) but upon some, at the least specious, grounds and quarrels. The Turk hath at hand, for cause of war, the propagation of his law or sect; a quarrel that he may always command. The Romans, though they esteemed the extending the limits of their empire to be great honour to their generals when it was done, yet they never rested upon that alone to begin a war. First therefore, let nations that pretend to greatness have this; that they be sensible of wrongs, either upon borderers, merchants, or politic ministers; and that they sit not too long upon a provocation. Secondly, let them be prest² and ready to give aids and succours to their confederates; as it ever was with the Romans; insomuch, as if the confederates had leagues defensive with divers other states, and, upon invasion offered, did implore their aids severally, yet the Romans would ever be the foremost, and leave it to none other to have the honour. As for the wars which were anciently made on the behalf of a kind of party, or tacit conformity of estate, I

¹ *Pretend.* To put forward as a reason or excuse; to use as a pretext.

"This let him know,
Lest wilfully transgressing he pretend
Surprisal, unadmonisht, unforewarn'd."

Milton. Paradise Lost. V. 243-245.

² *Prest.* Ready, prompt, eager.

"And cursèd Dionyza hath
The pregnant instrument of wrath
Prest for this blow."

Shakspeare. Pericles, Prince of Tyre. iv. Prologue.

do not see how they may be well justified: as when the Romans made a war for the liberty of Græcia;¹ or when the Lacedæmonians and Athenians made wars to set up or pull down democracies and oligarchies; or when wars were made by foreigners, under the pretence of justice or protection, to deliver the subjects of others from tyranny and oppression; and the like. Let it suffice, that no estate expect to be great, that is not awake upon any just occasion of arming.

No body can be healthful without exercise, neither natural body nor politic; and certainly to a kingdom or estate, a just and honourable war is the true exercise. A civil war indeed is like the heat of a fever; but a foreign war is like the heat of exercise, and serveth to keep the body in health; for in a slothful peace, both courages will effeminate and manners corrupt. But howsoever it be for happiness, without all question, for greatness it maketh, to be still for the most part in arms; and the strength of a veteran army (though it be a chargeable business) always on foot, is that which commonly giveth the law, or at least the reputation, amongst all neighbour states; as may well be seen in Spain, which hath had, in one part or other, a veteran army almost continually, now by² the space of six score years.

To be master of the sea is an abridgment of a monarchy. Cicero, writing to Atticus³ of Pompey

¹ *Graecia. Greece.*

² *By. During.* "Therefore watch, and remember, that *by* the space of three years I ceased not to warn every one night and day with tears." *Acts xx. 31.*

³ Titus Pomponius Atticus, 109–32 B.C., a Roman scholar and bookseller who was the friend and correspondent of Cicero.

his preparation against Cæsar, saith *Consilium Pompeii plane Themistocleum est; putat enim, qui mari potitur, eum rerum potiri*.¹ And, without doubt, Pompey had tired out Cæsar, if upon vain confidence he had not left that way. We see the great effects of battles by sea. The battle of Actium² decided the empire of the world. The battle of Lepanto³ arrested the greatness of the Turk. There may be examples where sea-fights have been final to the war; but this is when princes or states have set up their rest upon the battles. But thus much is certain, that he that commands the sea, is at great liberty, and may take as much and as little of the war as he will. Whereas those that be strongest by land are many times nevertheless in great straits. Surely, at this day, with us of Europe, the vantage⁴ of strength at sea (which is one of the principal dowries of this kingdom of Great Britain) is great; both because most of the kingdoms of Europe are not merely inland, but girt with the sea most part of their compass; and because the wealth of both Indies seems in great part but an accessory to the command of the seas.

¹ Pompey's policy is plainly that of Themistocles; for he thinks that he who commands the sea, commands all. Bacon quotes Cicero freely as he was wont. Cicero wrote: "*nisi forte, iis amissis, arma Pompeium abiecturum putas, cuius omne consilium Themistocleum est: existimat enim, qui mare teneat, eum necesse esse rerum potiri.*" *M. Tullii Ciceronis Epistolae ad Atticum Liber X. viii. 4.*

² The battle of Actium was fought September 2, 31 B.C., off the promontory of Actium, Greece, between Octavius on the one side and Antony and Cleopatra on the other. Octavius won and Egypt became the first province of the Roman empire.

³ The battle of Lepanto was a great naval victory, October 7, 1571, won by the Italian and Spanish fleets under Don John of Austria, over the Turks. It took place in the Ionian Sea, off the coast of Lepanto, in Aetolia, Greece.

⁴ *Vantage. Advantage.*

The wars of latter ages seem to be made in the dark, in respect of the glory and honour which reflected upon men from the wars in ancient time. There be now, for martial encouragement, some degrees and orders of chivalry; which nevertheless are conferred promiscuously upon soldiers and no soldiers; and some remembrance perhaps upon the scutcheon; and some hospitals for maimed soldiers; and such like things. But in ancient times, the trophies erected upon the place of the victory; the funeral laudatives¹ and monuments for those that died in the wars; the crowns and garlands personal; the style of Emperor, which the great kings of the world after borrowed; the triumphs of the generals upon their return; the great donatives and largesses upon the disbanding of the armies; were things able to inflame all men's courages. But above all, that of the Triumph, amongst the Romans, was not pageants or gaudery,² but one of the wisest and noblest institutions that ever was. For it contained three things: honour to the general; riches to the treasury out of the spoils; and donatives to the army. But that honour perhaps were not fit for monarchies; except it be in the person of the monarch himself, or his sons; as it came to pass in the times of the Roman emperors, who did inappropriate³ the actual triumphs to themselves and their sons, for such wars as they did achieve in person; and left only, for wars achieved by sub-

¹ *Laudatives. Eulogies, panegyrics.*

² *Gaudery. Ostentatious show.*

³ *Improprate. Appropriate.*

jects, some triumphal garments and ensigns to the general.

To conclude: no man can *by care taking* (as the Scripture saith) *add a cubit to his stature*,¹ in this little model of a man's body; but in the great frame of kingdoms and commonwealths, it is in the power of princes or estates to add amplitude and greatness to their kingdoms; for by introducing such ordinances, constitutions, and customs, as we have now touched,² they may sow greatness to their posterity and succession. But these things are commonly not observed, but left to take their chance.

XXX. OF REGIMENT³ OF HEALTH.

THERE is a wisdom in this beyond the rules of physic: a man's own observation, what he finds good of,⁴ and what he finds hurt of, is the best physic to preserve health. But it is a safer conclusion to say, *This agreeth not well with me, therefore I will not con-*

¹ "Which of you by taking thought can add one cubit unto his stature?" *Matthew vi. 27.*

² *Touch. To treat lightly.*

"Whereat we glanced from theme to theme,
Discuss'd the books to love or hate,
Or touch'd the changes of the state,
Or threaded some Socratic dream."

Tennyson. In Memoriam. lxxxix.

³ *Regiment or regimen. Rule of diet or mode of living, common in this phrase 'regimen of health.'*

⁴ *Of.* After an adjective, *in respect of, in the matter of, in point of, in.* Now literary, and somewhat archaic, except in particular phrases, as 'blind of one eye.'

tinue it; than this, I find no offence¹ of this, therefore I may use it. For strength of nature in youth passeth over many excesses, which are owing a man till his age. Discern of the coming on of years, and think not to do the same things still; for age will not be defied. Beware of sudden change in any great point of diet, and if necessity inforce it, fit the rest to it. For it is a secret both in nature and state, that it is the safer to change many things than one. Examine thy customs of diet, sleep, exercise, apparel, and the like; and try, in any thing thou shalt judge hurtful, to discontinue it by little and little; but so, as if thou dost find any inconvenience by the change, thou come back to it again: for it is hard to distinguish that which is generally held good and wholesome, from that which is good particularly, and fit for thine own body. To be free-minded and cheerfully disposed at hours of meat² and of sleep and of exercise, is one of the best precepts of long lasting. As for the passions and studies of the mind; avoid envy; anxious fears; anger fretting inwards; subtle and knotty inquisitions; joys and exhilarations in excess; sadness not communicated. Enter-tain hopes; mirth rather than joy; variety of delights, rather than surfeit of them; wonder and

¹ *Offence. Harm, injury, damage.*

“T is better that the enemy seek us:
So shall he waste his means, weary his soldiers,
Doing him *offence*.”

Shakspeare. Julius Caesar. iv. 3.

² *Meat. Food, meals.* “She riseth also while it is yet night, and giveth *meat* to her household, and a portion to her maidens.” *Proverbs xxxi. 15.*

admiration, and therefore novelties; studies that fill the mind with splendid and illustrious objects, as histories, fables, and contemplations of nature. If you fly physic in health altogether, it will be too strange for your body when you shall need it. If you make it too familiar, it will work no extraordinary effect when sickness cometh. I commend¹ rather some diet for certain seasons, than frequent use of physic, except it be grown into a custom. For those diets alter the body more, and trouble it less. Despise no new accident in your body, but ask opinion of it. In sickness, respect² health principally; and in health, action. For those that put their bodies to endure in health, may in most sicknesses, which are not very sharp, be cured only with diet and tendering.³ Celsus⁴ could never have spoken it as a physician, had he not been a wise man withal, when he giveth it for one of the great precepts of health and lasting, that a man do vary and interchange contraries, but with an inclination to the more benign extreme: use fasting and full eating but rather full eating; watching and sleep, but rather sleep; sitting, and exercise, but rather exercise; and the like. So shall nature be

¹ *Commend.* *Recommend.*

² *Respect.* *To have regard to; to care for; to heed or consider.*

"There is no terror, Cassius, in your threats;
For I am arm'd so strong in honesty,
That they pass by me as the idle wind,
Which I *respect* not."

Shakspeare. Julius Caesar. iv. 3.

³ *Tendering.* *Cherishing, care.*

⁴ Aulus (or Aurelius) Cornelius Celsus, a Roman writer of the first half of the first century A.D. He wrote an encyclopedia, of which only *De Medicina* (Books 6-13) has come down to us. The quotation is from *A. Cornelii Celsi De Medicina Liber I. Caput 1.*

cherished, and yet taught masteries. Physicians are some of them so pleasing and conformable to the humour of the patient, as they press not the true cure of the disease; and some other are so regular in proceeding according to art for the disease, as they respect not sufficiently the condition of the patient. Take one of the middle temper; or if it may not be found in one man, combine two of either¹ sort; and forget not to call as well the best acquainted with your body, as the best reputed of for his faculty.

XXXI. OF SUSPICION.

SUSPICIONS amongst thoughts are like bats amongst birds, they ever fly by twilight. Certainly they are to be repressed, or at the least well guarded: for they cloud the mind; they leese² friends; and they check³ with business, whereby business cannot go on currently⁴ and constantly. They dispose kings to tyranny, husbands to jealousy, wise men to irresolution and melancholy. They are defects, not in the heart, but in the brain; for they take place in the stoutest⁵ natures; as in the example of Henry the Seventh of England. There was not a more

¹ *Either. Each (of two.)* "There was a huge fire-place at either end of the hall." *Scott. Ivanhoe. III.*

² *Leese. Lose.*

³ *Check. Intransitive, to clash or interfere.*

⁴ *Currently. In the manner of a flowing stream, smoothly.*

⁵ *Stout. Proud, stubborn.*

suspicious man, nor a more stout. And in such a composition¹ they do small hurt. For commonly they are not admitted, but with examination, whether they be likely or no? But in fearful natures they gain ground too fast. There is nothing makes a man suspect much, more than to know little; and therefore men should remedy suspicion by procuring to know more, and not to keep their suspicions in smother. What would men have? Do they think those they employ and deal with are saints? Do they not think they will have their own ends, and be truer to themselves than to them? Therefore there is no better way to moderate suspicions, than to account upon such suspicions as true and yet to bridle them as false. For so far a man ought to make use of suspicions, as to provide, as if that should be true that he suspects, yet it may do him no hurt. Suspicions that the mind of itself gathers are but buzzes;² but suspicions that are artificially nourished, and put into men's heads by the tales and whisperings of others, have stings. Certainly, the best mean to clear the way in this same wood of suspicions, is frankly to communicate them with the party that he suspects; for thereby

¹ *Composition. Mental constitution, or constitution of mind and body combined.*

"O, how that name befits my *composition*!

Old Gaunt, indeed; and gaunt in being old."

Shakspeare. King Richard II. ii. 1.

² *Buzz. A rumor or report.*

"That, on every dream,

Each *buz*, each fancy, each complaint, dislike,
He may enguard his dotage with their powers,
And hold our lives in mercy."

Shakspeare. King Lear. i. 4.

he shall be sure to know more of the truth of them than he did before; and withal shall make that party more circumspect not to give further cause of suspicion. But this would ¹ not be done to men of base natures; for they, if they find themselves once suspected, will never be true. The Italian says, *Sospetto licentia fede*; ² as if suspicion did give a passport to faith; but it ought rather to kindle it to discharge itself.

XXXII. OF DISCOURSE.

SOME in their discourse desire rather commendation of wit, in being able to hold all arguments, than of judgment, in discerning what is true; as if it were a praise to know what might be said, and not what should be thought. Some have certain common places and themes wherein they are good, and want variety; which kind of poverty is for the most part tedious, and when it is once perceived, ridiculous. The honourablest part of talk is to give the occasion; and again to moderate and pass to somewhat else; for then a man leads the dance. It is good, in discourse and speech of conversation, to vary and intermingle speech of the present occasion with arguments, tales with reasons, asking of questions with telling of opinions, and jest with earnest: for it is

¹ *Would* for *should*, as frequently in Elizabethan English.

² Suspicion gives license to faithlessness, that is, justifies breaking faith.

a dull thing to tire, and, as we say now, to jade,¹ any thing too far. As for jest, there be certain things which ought to be privileged from it; namely, religion, matters of state, great persons, any man's present business of importance, and any case that deserveth pity. Yet there be some that think their wits have been asleep, except they dart out somewhat that is piquant, and to the quick. That is a vein which would be bridled;

Parce, puer, stimulis, et fortius utere loris.²

And generally, men ought to find the difference between saltness and bitterness. Certainly, he that hath a satirical vein, as he maketh others afraid of his wit, so he had need be afraid of others' memory. He that questioneth much, shall learn much, and content much; but especially if he apply his questions to the skill of the persons whom he asketh; for he shall give them occasion to please themselves in speaking, and himself shall continually gather knowledge. But let his questions not be troublesome; for that is fit for a poser.³ And let him be sure to leave other men their turns to speak. Nay, if there be any that would reign and take up all the time, let him find means to take them off, and to bring others on; as musicians use to do with those that dance too long galliards.⁴ If you dissemble

¹ *Jade.* To make a jade, or hack, of a horse; to exhaust or wear out by driving or working too hard; to fatigue or weary.

² Boy, spare the whip, and more firmly hold the reins. *P. Ovidii Nasonis Metamorphoseon Liber II. 126*; the story of Phaëthon.

³ *Poser.* Examiner.

⁴ *Galliard.* A spirited dance for two dancers only, common in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

sometimes your knowledge of that you are thought to know, you shall be thought another time to know that you know not. Speech of a man's self ought to be seldom, and well chosen. I knew one was wont to say in scorn, *He must needs be a wise man, he speaks so much of himself*: and there is but one case wherein a man may commend himself with good grace; and that is in commending virtue in another; especially if it be such a virtue whereunto himself pretendeth. Speech of touch¹ towards others should be sparingly used; for discourse ought to be as a field, without coming home to any man. I knew two noblemen, of the west part of England, whereof the one was given to scoff, but kept ever royal cheer in his house; the other would ask of those that had been at the other's table, *Tell truly, was there never a flout² or dry blow given?* To which the guest would answer, *Such and such a thing passed*. The lord would say, *I thought he would mar a good dinner*. Discretion of speech is more than eloquence; and to speak agreeably to him with whom we deal, is more than to speak in good words or in good order. A good continued speech, without a good speech of interlocution, shews slowness; and a good reply or second speech, without a good settled speech, sheweth shallowness and weakness. As we see in beasts, that those that are weakest in the course, are yet nimblest in the turn; as it is betwixt the greyhound

¹ *Speech of touch. Personalities in conversation.*

² *Flout. A mocking speech or action; jeer.*

"And wherefore wail for one
Who put your beauty to this flout and scorn
By dressing it in rags?"

Tennyson. Geraint and Enid.

and the hare. To use too many circumstances ere one come to the matter, is wearisome; to use none at all, is blunt.

XXXIII. OF PLANTATIONS.¹

PLANTATIONS are amongst ancient, primitive, and heroical works. When the world was young it begat more children; but now it is old it begets fewer: for I may justly account new plantations to be the children of former kingdoms. I like a plantation² in a pure soil; that is, where people are not dis-planted³ to the end to plant in others. For else it is rather an extirpation than a plantation. Planting of countries is like planting of woods; for you must make account to leese almost twenty years

¹ This Essay seems to have been carefully translated; and revised in the translation, probably by Bacon himself. S.

Bacon was personally interested in colonization. Sir Walter Raleigh's scheme of planting a colony in Virginia having failed, 1586, the London or South Virginia Company for the Colonization of Virginia was chartered by King James, May 23, 1609, with larger powers and privileges. Among the new 'adventurers' were Sir Francis Bacon, his cousin, the Earl of Salisbury, with Captain John Smith, and others. At about the same time Bacon warmly advocated the 'Irish plantations,' that is, the policy of King James's government which led to the settlement of English and Scottish Protestants in the County of Ulster.

² *Plantation.* An original settlement in a new country; a colony. The official name of Rhode Island is 'The State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations.'

³ *Displant.* To undo the settlement or establishment of a plantation or colony.

"Hang up philosophy!

Unless philosophy can make a Juliet,

Displant a town, reverse a prince's doom,

It helps not, it prevails not: talk no more."

Shakspeare. Romeo and Juliet. iii. 3.

profit, and expect your recompense in the end. For the principal thing that hath been the destruction of most plantations, hath been the base and hasty drawing of profit in the first years. It is true, speedy profit is not to be neglected, as far as may stand ¹ with the good of the plantation, but no further. It is a shameful and unblessed thing to take the scum of people, and wicked condemned men, to be the people with whom you plant; and not only so, but it spoileth the plantation; for they will ever live like rogues, and not fall to work, but be lazy, and do mischief, and spend victuals, and be quickly weary, and then certify over to their country to the discredit of the plantation. The people wherewith you plant ought to be gardeners, ploughmen, labourers, smiths, carpenters, joiners, fishermen, fowlers, with some few apothecaries, surgeons, cooks, and bakers. In a country of plantation, first look about what kind of victual ² the country yields of itself to hand; as chestnuts, walnuts, pineapples, olives, dates, plums, cherries, wild honey, and the like; and make use of them. Then consider what victual or esculent ³ things there are, which grow speedily, and within the year; as parsnips, carrots, turnips, onions, radish, artichokes of Hierusalem,⁴

¹ *To stand with. To be consistent with; to agree.*

² *Victual. Provision of food; articles commonly used as food.* Generally used in the plural as on this page elsewhere, and signifying (commonly) food for human beings, prepared for eating.

³ *Esculent. Good for food; eatable.* Specifically, an 'esculent' is an edible vegetable, and especially one that may be used as a condiment or relish without cooking, like lettuce or radishes.

⁴ *Artichokes of Hierusalem.* This vegetable is not an artichoke, and its name has nothing to do with Jerusalem. It is a plant with an edible root resembling the artichoke, which was introduced into Europe from South America about 1617. It is said to have been

maize, and the like. For wheat, barley, and oats, they ask too much labour; but with pease¹ and beans you may begin, both because they ask less labour, and because they serve for meat as well as for bread. And of rice likewise cometh a great increase, and it is a kind of meat. Above all there ought to be brought store of biscuit, oat-meal, flour, meal, and the like, in the beginning, till bread may be had. For beasts, or birds, take chiefly such as are least subject to diseases, and multiply fastest; as swine, goats, cocks, hens, turkeys, geese, house-doves,² and the like. The victual in plantations ought to be expended almost as in a besieged town; that is, with certain allowance. And let the main part of the ground employed³ to gardens or corn,⁴ be to⁵ a common stock; and to be laid in, and stored up, and then delivered out in proportion; besides some spots of ground that any particular person will manure for his own private.⁶ Consider likewise what commodities the soil where the plantation is

distributed from the Farnese garden, in Rome. There it was called *girasole articiocco*, which means 'sunflower artichoke.' 'Jerusalem' is an English corruption of *girasole* ('turning with the sun').

¹ *Pease*. Archaic plural from the Middle English singular '*pesë*.' When the final *e* of '*pese*' disappeared, the *s* of '*pes*' (pease) was supposed to be the plural ending, and then the singular '*pe*' (pea) was made to suit it. The singular '*pea*' is a case of an error in English that has established itself in good usage.

² *House-dove*. A dove kept in a dove-house.

³ *Employ*. To apply (a thing) to some definite purpose; followed by the prepositions *for*, *in*, *on*, and *to*. Archaic.

⁴ *Corn*. Grain.

⁵ *To*. *For*. "His house is not quite a mile from this place; and if he should not be at home himself, he hath a pretty young man to his son, whose name is Civility." John Bunyan. *The Pilgrim's Progress*. III.

⁶ *Private*. Personal interest or use; particular business. "My lords, this strikes at every Roman's private." Ben Jonson. *Sejanus his Fall*. iii. 1.

doth naturally yield, that they may some way help to defray the charge of the plantation, (so it be not, as was said, to the untimely prejudice of the main business,) as it hath fared with tobacco in Virginia. Wood commonly aboundeth but too much; and therefore timber is fit to be one. If there be iron ore, and streams whereupon to set the mills, iron is a brave¹ commodity where wood aboundeth. Making of bay-salt,² if the climate be proper for it, would be put in experience.³ Growing silk likewise, if any be, is a likely commodity. Pitch and tar, where store of firs and pines are, will not fail. So drugs and sweet woods, where they are, cannot but yield great profit. Soap-ashes likewise, and other things that may be thought of. But moil⁴ not too much under ground; for the hope of mines is very uncertain, and useth to make the planters lazy in other things. For government, let it be in the hands of one, assisted with some counsel; and let them have commission to exercise martial laws, with some limitation. And above all, let men make that profit of being in the wilderness, as they have God always, and his service, before their eyes. Let not the government of the plantation depend upon too many counsellors and undertakers⁵ in the country that planteth, but upon a temperate number; and

¹ *Brave. Excellent, fine.* "Think not on him till to-morrow: I'll devise thee brave punishments for him,—Strike up, pipers!" *Shakspeare. Much Ado About Nothing. v. 4.*

² *Bay-salt.* Salt obtained in large crystals by slow evaporation; originally, from sea-water by the sun's heat.

³ *To put in experience.* To prove by actual trial, or by practical demonstration.

⁴ *Moil.* To drudge, toil, labor.

⁵ *Undertaker.* One who 'undertakes' or engages to perform any business; a projector.

let those be rather noblemen and gentlemen, than merchants; for they look ever to the present gain. Let there be freedoms from custom,¹ till the plantation be of strength; and not only freedom from custom, but freedom to carry their commodities where they may make their best of them, except there be some special cause of caution. Cram not in people, by sending too fast company after company; but rather harken² how they waste, and send supplies proportionably; but so as the number may live well in the plantation, and not by surcharge be in penury. It hath been a great endangering to the health of some plantations, that they have built along the sea and rivers, in marish³ and unwholesome grounds. Therefore, though you begin there, to avoid carriage and other like discommodities,⁴ yet build still rather upwards from the streams, than along. It concerneth likewise the health of the plantation that they have good store of salt with them, that they may use it in their victuals, when it shall be necessary. If you plant where savages are, do not only entertain them with trifles and gingles,⁵ but use them justly and graciously, with sufficient

¹ *Custom.* A tax levied by a king or sovereign authority upon merchandise in export or import; now levied only on imports from foreign countries. Rarely in singular in modern English. "Render therefore to all their dues: tribute to whom tribute is due; custom to whom custom; fear to whom fear; honour to whom honour." *Romans* xviii. 7.

² *Harken* (*hearken*). To learn by 'hearing'; to have regard to; to heed.

"This King of Naples, being an enemy
To me inveterate, *hearkens* my brother's suit."

Shakspeare. The Tempest. i. 2.

³ *Marish.* Marshy.

⁴ *Discommodity.* Disadvantage, inconvenience.

⁵ *Gingle.* Old spelling of jingle, anything that jingles.

guard nevertheless ; and do not win their favour by helping them to invade their enemies, but for their defence it is not amiss ; and send oft of them over to the country that plants, that they may see a better condition than their own, and commend it when they return. When the plantation grows to strength, then it is time to plant with women as well as with men ; that the plantation may spread into generations, and not be ever pieced from without. It is the sinfulness thing in the world to forsake or destitute¹ a plantation once in forwardness ; for beside the dishonour, it is the guiltiness of blood of many commiserable² persons.

XXXIV. OF RICHES.

I CANNOT call Riches better than the baggage of virtue. The Roman word is better, *impedimenta*.³ For as the baggage is to an army, so is riches to virtue.⁴ It cannot be spared nor left behind, but it hindereth the march ; yea and the care of it sometimes loseth or disturbeth the victory. Of great riches there is no real use, except it be in the distribution ; the rest is but conceit. So saith Salomon, *Where much is, there are many to consume it ; and what hath the*

¹ *Destitute.* To abandon ; to leave to neglect.

² *Commiserable.* Deserving commiseration or pity.

³ *Hindrances.*

⁴ "But Satan now is wiser than of yore,
And tempts by making rich, not making poor."

Pope. Epistle III. To Allen, Lord Bathurst. ll. 351-352.

owner but the sight of it with his eyes? ¹ The personal fruition in any man cannot reach to feel great riches: there is a custody of them; or a power of dole² and donative of them; or a fame of them; but no solid use to the owner. Do you not see what feigned prices are set upon little stones and rarities? and what works of ostentation are undertaken, because there might seem to be some use of great riches? But then you will say, they may be of use to buy men out of dangers or troubles. As Salomon saith, *Riches are as a strong hold, in the imagination of the rich man.*³ But this is excellently expressed, that it is in imagination, and not always in fact. For certainly great riches have sold more men than they have bought out. Seek not proud riches, but such as thou mayest get justly, use soberly, distribute cheerfully, and leave contentedly.

Yet have no abstract nor friarly contempt of them. But distinguish, as Cicero saith well of Rabirius Posthumus, *In studio rei amplificandæ apparebat, non avaritiæ prædam, sed instrumentum bonitati quæri.*⁴ Hearken also to Salomon, and beware of

¹ "When goods increase, they are increased that eat them: and what good is there to the owners thereof, saving the beholding of them with their eyes?" *Ecclesiastes v. 11.*

² Dole. Dealing out or distribution of gifts.

"Pleasures stinted in the dole."

Browning. *La Saisiaz.* 431.

³ "The rich man's wealth is his strong city." *Proverbs x. 15.*

⁴ In his desire to increase his wealth, it appeared that he sought not the gratification of avarice, but the means of doing good (*ut in augenda re non avaritiæ prædam, sed instrumentum bonitati quærere videretur.* *M. Tullii Ciceronis Pro C. Rabirio Postumo Oratio.* II. 3).

In the year 54 B.C. Cicero defended Caius Rabirius Postumus, a Roman knight, who by helping Pompey to restore King Ptolemy Auletes to the throne of Egypt had laid himself open to the crime of extortion. Bacon quotes inaccurately. Cicero makes the state-

hasty gathering of riches; *Qui festinat ad divitias, non erit insons*.¹ The poets feign, that when Plutus (which is Riches) is sent from Jupiter, he limps and goes slowly; but when he is sent from Pluto, he runs and is swift of foot. Meaning that riches gotten by good means and just labour pace slowly; but when they come by the death of others (as by the course of inheritance, testaments, and the like), they come tumbling upon a man. But it might be applied likewise to Pluto, taking him for the devil. For when riches come from the devil (as by fraud and oppression and unjust means), they come upon² speed. The ways to enrich are many, and most of them foul. Parsimony is one of the best, and yet is not innocent; for it withholdeth men from works of liberality and charity. The improvement of the ground is the most natural obtaining of riches; for it is our great mother's blessing, the earth's; but it is slow. And yet where men of great wealth do stoop to husbandry, it multiplieth riches exceedingly. I knew a nobleman in England, that had the greatest audits³ of any man in my time; a great grazier, a great sheep-master, a great timber man, a great collier, a great corn-master, a great lead-man, and so of iron, and a number of the like points of husbandry. So as the earth seemed a sea to him, in respect of the perpetual importation. It

ment, not of Rabirius Postumus, but of his father, Caius Curius, who made the fortune Rabirius lost through his connection with Pompey's political schemes.

¹ "He that maketh haste to be rich shall not be innocent."
Proverbs xxviii. 20.

² Upon. At, with.

³ Audits. Rent-rolls, accounts of income.

was truly observed by one, that himself came very hardly to a little riches, and very easily to great riches. For when a man's stock is come to that, that he can expect¹ the prime of markets, and overcome² those bargains which for their greatness are few men's money, and be partner in the industries of younger men, he cannot but increase mainly.³ The gains of ordinary trades and vocations are honest; and furthered by two things chiefly: by diligence, and by a good name for good and fair dealing. But the gains of bargains are of a more doubtful nature; when men shall wait upon others' necessity, broke⁴ by servants and instruments to draw them on, put off others cunningly that would be better chapmen,⁵ and the like practices, which are crafty and naught.⁶ As for the chopping of bargains, when a man buys not to hold but to sell over again, that commonly grindeth double,

¹ *To expect* the prime of markets is *to wait* until the market is at its best for buying and selling. Compare *expect* meaning *to wait for* in the Bible and Shakspeare. "From henceforth *expecting* till his enemies be made his footstool." *Hebrews x. 13.*

"Sweet soul, let 's in, and there *expect* their coming."

Shakspeare. The Merchant of Venice. v. 1.

² *Overcome.* *To come over suddenly; to take by surprise.*

³ *Mainly.* *Greatly.*

⁴ *Broke.* *To broke* is to transact business by means of an agent, but the context shows that here it means, as it often did, *to deal craftily.*

⁵ *Chapmen.* *Traders.*

"Fair Diomed, you do as *chapmen* do,

Dispraise the thing that you desire to buy."

Shakspeare. Troilus and Cressida. iv. 1.

Notice Bacon's explanation of *chopping of bargains*, in the next sentence.

⁶ *Naught, or naughty.* *Bad, wicked.*

"Of a certain knight that swore by his honour they were good pancakes, and swore by his honour the mustard was *naught*: now I 'll stand to it, the pancakes were *naught*, and the mustard was good." *Shakspeare. As You Like It. i. 2.*

both upon the seller and upon the buyer. Sharings do greatly enrich, if the hands be well chosen that are trusted. Usury is the certainest means of gain, though one of the worst; as that whereby a man doth eat his bread *in sudore vultus alieni*;¹ and besides, doth plough upon Sundays. But yet certain though it be, it hath flaws; for that the scriveners² and brokers do value³ unsound men to serve their own turn. The fortune in being the first in an invention or in a privilege, doth cause sometimes a wonderful overgrowth in riches; as it was with the first sugar man in the Canaries. Therefore if a man can play the true logician, to have as well judgment as invention, he may do great matters; especially if the times be fit. He that resteth upon gains certain, shall hardly grow to great riches; and he that puts all upon adventures,⁴ doth oftentimes break and come to poverty: it is good therefore to guard adventures with certainties, that may uphold losses. Monopolies, and coemption⁵ of wares for re-sale, where they are not restrained, are great means to enrich; especially if the party have intelligence what things are like to come into request, and so store himself beforehand. Riches gotten by service, though it be of the best rise,⁶

¹ In the sweat of the brow of another.

² *Scrivener.* A money-lender.

³ *Value.* To give out or represent as wealthy, or financially sound.

⁴ *Adventure.* A pecuniary risk, a venture, a speculation.

⁵ *Coemption.* The act of purchasing the whole quantity of anything, 'cornering the market.'

⁶ *Rise.* Value, worth, price. Bacon means to say that riches got by service, though that service may have been of the highest price, is yet often the worst, as when a man grows rich at the sacrifice of his honor or his conscience.

yet when they are gotten by flattery, feeding humours, and other servile conditions, they may be placed amongst the worst. As for fishing for testaments and executorships (as Tacitus saith of Seneca, *testamenta et orbos tamquam indagine capi*,)¹ it is yet worse; by how much men submit themselves to meaner persons than in service. Believe not much them that seem to despise riches; for they despise them that despair of them; and none worse when they come to them. Be not penny-wise; riches have wings, and sometimes they fly away of themselves,² sometimes they must be set flying to bring in more. Men leave their riches either to their kindred, or to the public; and moderate portions prosper best in both. A great state left to an heir, is as a lure to all the birds of prey round about to seize on him, if he be not the better stablished³ in years and judgment. Likewise glorious⁴ gifts and foundations are like *sacrifices without salt*; and but the painted sepulchres of alms, which soon will putrefy and corrupt inwardly. Therefore measure not thine advancements⁵ by quantity, but frame them by measure: and defer not charities till death; for, certainly, if a man weigh it rightly, he that doth so is rather liberal of another man's than of his own.

¹ Wills and childless couples taken as with a net. (*Romae testamenta et orbos velut indagine ejus capi.*) *Cornelii Taciti Annalium Liber XIII. 42.*

² "For riches certainly make themselves wings; they fly away, as an eagle toward heaven." *Proverbs xxiii. 5.*

³ *Stablish. Establish.*

⁴ *Glorious. Possessing glory; entitled to brilliant and lofty renown.*

⁵ *Advancement. In legal language, the promotion of children in life, especially by the application beforehand of property or money to which they are prospectively entitled under a settlement or will; also, the property so applied.*

XXXV. OF PROPHECIES.¹

I MEAN not to speak of divine prophecies; nor of heathen oracles; nor of natural predictions; but only of prophecies that have been of certain memory, and from hidden causes. Saith the Pythonissa² to Saul, *To-morrow thou and thy son shall be with me.* Homer hath these verses:

At domus Æneæ cunctis dominabitur oris,
Et nati natorum, et qui nascentur ab illis.³

A prophecy, as it seems, of the Roman empire. Seneca the tragedian hath these verses:

———Venient annis
Sæcula seris, quibus Oceanus
Vincula rerum laxet, et ingens
Pateat Tellus, Tiphysque⁴ novos
Detegat orbes; nec sit terris
Ultima Thule.⁵

¹ There is no Latin translation of this Essay. S.

² *Pythonissa.* *Pythoness.* Apollo slew the python, the serpent or dragon, whence he was called Pythia. A *pythoness* was the priestess of Apollo at his temple at Delphi, who gave oracular answers; hence, any woman supposed to have the gift of divination. Saul consulted the witch of En-dor, who said to him: "Moreover, the Lord will also deliver Israel with thee into the hand of the Philistines: and to-morrow shalt thou and thy sons be with me: the Lord also shall deliver the host of Israel into the hand of the Philistines." *I. Samuel xxviii. 19.*

³ The house of Aeneas shall rule over all shores, and his children's children, and those who shall be born of them. Not Homer, but *Vergil. Aeneidos Liber III. 97-98.*

⁴ Tiphys was the pilot of the Argo. Thule was an island in the extreme north of Europe, according to some authorities, Iceland, according to others, Mainland, the largest of the Shetland Islands.

⁵ There shall come an age in ripe years when Ocean shall loose his chains, and a vast continent shall be laid open, and Tiphys shall discover new worlds, and Thule shall not be earth's bound. *Seneca. Medea*, last words of the Chorus at end of *Act ii.*

A prophecy of the discovery of America. The daughter of Polycrates¹ dreamed that Jupiter bathed her father, and Apollo anointed him; and it came to pass that he was crucified in an open place, where the sun made his body run with sweat, and the rain washed it. Philip of Macedon dreamed he sealed up his wife's belly; whereby he did expound it, that his wife should be barren; but Aristander² the soothsayer told him his wife was with child, because men do not use to seal vessels that are empty.³ A phantasm that appeared to M. Brutus⁴ in his tent, said to him, *Philippis iterum me videbis*.⁵ Tiberius said to Galba, *Tu quoque, Galba, degustabis imperium*.⁶ In Vespasian's time, there went a prophecy in the East, that those that should come forth of Judea should reign over the world: which though it may be was meant of our Saviour, yet Tacitus expounds it of Vespasian.⁷ Domitian dreamed, the night before he

¹ Polycrates, tyrant of Samos, 536 (or 532) to 522 B.C., when he was put to death. The story of Polycrates is told by *Herodotus. III. Thalia. 39 seq. to 124-125*, for the daughter's dream and its interpretation.

² Aristander of Telmessus was a favorite soothsayer of Alexander the Great, who consulted him on all occasions.

³ *Plutarch. Life of Alexander.*

⁴ Marcus Junius Brutus, 85 to 42 B.C., Roman politician and scholar.

⁵ Thou shalt see me again at Philippi. Plutarch twice tells the story of the phantasm that is said to have appeared to Brutus before the battle of Philippi, once, with remarkable details in the *Life of Marcus Brutus*, and again, more briefly, in the *Life of Caesar*. It is well told in English, in *Plutarch's Lives of Illustrious Men. Translated from the Greek by John Dryden and Others. Marcus Brutus. Vol. III. pp. 411-412.*

The story was also told by Appian, a generation after Plutarch. See, *The Roman History of Appian of Alexandria. Translated from the Greek by Horace White. (The Civil Wars. IV. xvii. 134.) Vol. II. p. 382.*

⁶ Thou too, Galba, shalt taste of empire. Suetonius relates this prophecy as having been said, in Greek, to Augustus. *O. Suetoni Tranquilli De XII Caesaribus Liber VII. Serg. Sulpicius Galba. Caput 4.*

⁷ *Cornelii Taciti Historiarum Liber V. 13.*

was slain, that a golden head was growing out of the nape of his neck: and indeed the succession that followed him, for many years, made golden times.¹ Henry the Sixth² of England said of Henry the Seventh, when he was a lad, and gave him water, *This is the lad that shall enjoy the crown for which we strive.* When I was in France³ I heard from one Dr. Pena, that the Queen Mother, who was given to curious arts, caused the King her husband's nativity to be calculated, under a false name; and the astrologer gave a judgment, that he should be killed in a duel; at which the Queen laughed, thinking her husband to be above challenges and duels: but he was slain upon a course of tilt, the splinters of the staff of Montgomery going in at his beaver.⁴ The trivial prophecy, which I heard when I was a child, and queen Elizabeth was in the flower of her years, was,

¹ *C. Suetoni Tranquilli De XII Caesaribus Liber VIII. Titus Flavius Domitianus. Caput 23.*

² Henry VI., 1421–1471, King of England, 1422–1461. The strife he alludes to was the Wars of the Roses, 1455 to 1485, between the house of Lancaster (red rose) and house of York (white rose). At the close of Bacon's *History of King Henry VII.*, he relates this story: "One day when King Henry the Sixth (whose innocency gave him holiness) was washing his hands at a great feast and cast his eye upon King Henry, then a young youth, he said; 'This is the lad that shall possess quietly that that we now strive for.'" Henry VII. united the warring factions by defeating Richard III. at Bosworth Field, Aug. 22, 1485, and marrying, January 18, 1486, Elizabeth of York, thus establishing his right to the crown, as Bacon says, by "three several titles"—by birth, by conquest, and by marriage.

³ When Bacon was in France as a youth Henry III., 1551–1589, was King. The Queen Mother was Catharine de' Medici, 1519–1589. Henry II., 1519–1559, husband of Catharine de' Medici and father of Henry III., was killed at a tournament held in honor of the marriage of his daughter Elizabeth with Philip II. of Spain. Montgomery was the captain of his Scottish guard.

⁴ *Beaver.* The movable part of a helmet which covered the face, and was raised or let down to enable the wearer to eat or drink.

When hempe is sponne
England's done :

whereby it was generally conceived, that after the princes had reigned which had the principal letters of that word *hempe* (which were Henry, Edward,¹ Mary,² Philip,³ and Elizabeth), England should come to utter confusion ; which, thanks be to God, is verified only in the change of the name ; for that the King's style is now no more of England, but of Britain. There was also another prophecy, before the year of eighty-eight, which I do not well understand.

There shall be seen upon a day,
Between the Baugh and the May,⁴
The black fleet of Norway.
When that that is come and gone,
England build houses of lime and stone,
For after wars shall you have none.

It was generally conceived to be meant of the Spanish fleet⁵ that came in eighty-eight : for that the king of Spain's surname, as they say, is Norway. The prediction of Regiomontanus,⁶

Octogesimus octavus mirabilis annus,⁷

¹ Edward VI., 1537–1553, King of England, 1547–1553, son of Henry VIII. by his third queen, Jane Seymour.

² Mary Tudor, called 'Bloody Mary,' 1516–1558, Queen of England, 1553–1558, daughter of Henry VIII. and Catherine of Aragon.

³ Philip II., 1527–1598, King of Spain, 1556–1598, married Queen Mary in 1554.

⁴ Other persons besides Bacon "do not well understand" this prophecy. Mr. W. Aldis Wright thinks that "the Baugh and the May" are Bass Rock and the Isle of May in the Firth of Forth, where some ships of the Armada were wrecked in 1588.

⁵ The Invincible Armada.

⁶ Johann Müller, surnamed Regiomontanus, 1436–1476, German mathematician and astronomer, Archbishop of Ratisbon.

⁷ Eighty-eight, the wonderful year.

was thought likewise accomplished in the sending of that great fleet, being the greatest in strength, though not in number, of all that ever swam upon the sea. As for Cleon's¹ dream, I think it was a jest. It was, that he was devoured of² a long dragon; and it was expounded of a maker of sausages, that troubled him exceedingly. There are numbers of the like kind; especially if you include dreams, and predictions of astrology. But I have set down these few only of certain credit, for example. My judgment is, that they ought all to be despised; and ought to serve but for winter talk by the fireside. Though when I say *despised*, I mean it as for belief; for otherwise, the spreading or publishing of them is in no sort to be despised. For they have done much mischief; and I see many severe laws made to suppress them. That that hath given them grace, and some credit, consisteth in three things. First, that men mark when they hit, and never mark when they miss; as they do generally also of dreams. The second is, that probable conjectures, or obscure traditions, many times turn themselves into prophecies; while the nature of man, which coveteth divination, thinks it no peril

¹ *The Knights* of Aristophanes is a satire on Cleon, an Athenian demagogue. In the comedy *Demos*, or the State, is represented as an old man who has put himself into the hands of a rascally Paphlagonian steward. Nicias and Demosthenes, slaves of *Demos*, contrive that the Paphlagonian shall be supplanted by a sausage-seller. No sooner has *Demos* been thus rescued than his youthfulness and his good sense return together. Cleon, who was a tanner's son, was killed at Amphipolis, Macedon, in 422 B.C.

² *Of* in this use introduces the agent after a passive verb, and is now superseded by *by*, except as a biblical, poetic, or stylistic archaism.

"I have been told so of many."

Shakspeare. As You Like It. iii. 2.

to foretell that which indeed they do but collect. As that of Seneca's verse. For so much was then subject to demonstration, that the globe of the earth had great parts beyond the Atlantic, which might be probably conceived not to be all sea: and adding thereto the tradition in Plato's *Timæus*,¹ and his *Atlanticius*, it might encourage one to turn it to a prediction. The third and last (which is the great one) is, that almost all of them, being infinite in number, have been impostures, and by idle and crafty brains merely contrived and feigned after the event past.

XXXVI. OF AMBITION.

AMBITION is like choler; which is an humour that maketh men active, earnest, full of alacrity, and stirring, if it be not stopped. But if it be stopped, and cannot have his way, it becometh

¹ Of the *Dialogues* of Plato, the *Republic*, *Timæus*, and *Critias* were meant to form a trilogy. The interlocutors of *Timæus* are Socrates, Critias, Timæus the Pythagorean philosopher, and Hermocrates. Critias begins the main line of thought by recalling some of the myths of ancient Athens, and then proposes to regard the ideal state of Socrates in the *Republic* as this ancient Athenian state. Timæus is to carry on the discourse with the history of creation down to the birth of mankind, when Critias will make a further application of the story to the ideal Republic. The third dialogue, *Critias*, is but a fragment relating the legend of pre-historic Athens and Atlantis. In *Timæus* and *Critias* Atlantis is a mythical island somewhere northwest of Africa, which, with its inhabitants, disappeared in a convulsion of nature. Bacon calls the dialogue *Critias*, 'Atlanticius.'

adust,¹ and thereby malign and venomous. So ambitious men, if they find the way open for their rising, and still get forward, they are rather busy than dangerous; but if they be checked in their desires, they become secretly discontent,² and look upon men, and matters with an evil eye, and are best pleased when things go backward; which is the worst property in a servant of a prince or state. Therefore it is good for princes, if they use ambitious men, to handle it so as they be still progressive and not retrograde; which because it cannot be without inconvenience, it is good not to use such natures at all. For if they rise not with their service, they will take order³ to make their service fall with them. But since we have said it were good not to use men of ambitious natures, except it be upon necessity, it is fit we speak in what cases they are of necessity. Good commanders in the wars must be taken, be they never so ambitious; for the use of their service dispenseth⁴ with the rest; and to take a soldier without ambition is to pull off his spurs. There is also great use of ambitious men in being screens to princes in matters of danger and envy; for no man

¹ *Adust. Parched; fiery.*

"High in front advanc't,
The brandisht sword of God before them blaz'd
Fierce as a comet; which with torrid heat,
And vapour as the Libyan air *adust*,
Began to parch that temperate clime."

Milton. Paradise Lost. XII. 632-636.

² *Discontent. Discontented.*

³ *Take order. To take measures or steps; to make arrangements.*

"Now will we take some order in the town,
Placing therein some expert officers."

Shakspeare. I. King Henry VI. iii. 2.

⁴ *Dispense with. To excuse.*

will take that part, except he be like a seeled¹ dove, that mounts and mounts because he cannot see about him. There is use also of ambitious men in pulling down the greatness of any subject that overtops; as Tiberius used Macro² in the pulling down of Sejanus.³ Since therefore they must be used in such cases, there resteth⁴ to speak how they are to be bridled, that they may be less dangerous. There is less danger of them if they be of mean birth, than if they be noble; and if they be rather harsh of nature, than gracious and popular: and if they be rather new raised, than grown cunning⁵ and fortified in their greatness. It is counted by some a weakness in princes to have favourites; but it is of all others the best remedy against ambitious great-ones. For when the way of pleasuring⁶ and displeasuring⁷ lieth by the favourite, it is impossible any other should be over-great. Another means to curb them, is to balance them by others as proud

¹ *Seel.* To close the eyes of. The eyes of a newly taken hawk were 'seeled' in training it.

² Naeivius Sertorius Macro, killed 38 A.D., was prefect of the Roman pretorians under Tiberius and Caligula.

³ Aelius Sejanus, died 31 A.D., Roman courtier under Augustus and Tiberius. His story is the subject of Ben Jonson's tragedy, *Sejanus his Fall*; when this play was first acted, in 1603, Shakspeare was one of the "principal Tragoedians" who took part in the representation.

⁴ *Rest.* To be left; to remain.

"Well then; nought rests

But that she fit her love now to her fortune."

Ben Jonson. The Alchemist. iv. 2.

⁵ *Cunning. Skilful.* "And the boys grew: and Esau was a cunning hunter, a man of the field; and Jacob was a plain man, dwelling in tents." *Genesis xxv. 27.*

⁶ *Pleasure.* To give pleasure to; to please.

"I count it one of my greatest afflictions, say, that I cannot pleasure such an honourable gentleman." *Shakspeare. Timon of Athens. iii. 2.*

⁷ *Displeasure.* To displease, annoy.

as they. But then there must be some middle counsellors, to keep things steady; for without that ballast the ship will roll too much. At the least, a prince may animate and inure¹ some meaner persons, to be as it were scourges to ambitious men. As for the having of them obnoxious² to ruin; if they be of fearful natures, it may do well; but if they be stout and daring, it may precipitate their designs, and prove dangerous. As for the pulling of them down, if the affairs require it, and that it may not be done with safety suddenly, the only way is, the interchange continually of favours and disgraces;³ whereby they may not know what to expect, and be as it were in a wood. Of ambitions, it is less harmful, the ambition to prevail in great things, than that other to appear in every thing; for that breeds confusion, and mars business. But yet it is less danger to have an ambitious man stirring in business, than great in dependances.⁴ He that seeketh to be eminent amongst able men hath a great task; but that is ever good for the public. But he that plots to be the only figure amongst ciphers is the decay of a whole age. Honour hath three things in it: the vantage ground to do good; the approach to kings and principal persons; and the raising of a man's own fortunes. He that hath the best of these intentions, when he aspireth, is an honest man; and that prince that can discern of these intentions in another that aspireth, is a

¹ *Inure.* To make use of.

² *Obnoxious.* Liable, subject, or exposed (to anything harmful or undesirable).

³ *Disgrace.* Disfavor, dishonor, affront.

⁴ *Dependance.* A body of dependants or subordinates; a retinue.

wise prince. Generally, let princes and states choose such ministers as are more sensible of duty than of rising; and such as love business rather upon conscience than upon bravery;¹ and let them discern a busy nature from a willing mind.

XXXVII. OF MASQUES² AND TRIUMPHS.³

THESE things are but toys, to come amongst such serious observations.⁴ But yet, since princes will have such things, it is better they should be graced with elegance than daubed with cost. Dancing to song, is a thing of great state and pleasure. I understand it, that the song be in quire, placed aloft, and accompanied with some broken music;⁵

¹ *Bravery. Ostentation; display.*

² *Masque.* A form of dramatic entertainment popular at Court and among the nobility of England during the Elizabethan age; originally consisting of dancing and acting in dumb show, the performers being masked and dressed in character, but afterwards including dialogue (usually in verse), and song. Milton wrote, *Comus. A Mask Presented at Ludlow Castle, 1634. Before John, Earl of Bridgewater, then President of Wales.*

³ *Triumph.* A public festivity or display; a stately procession or pageant. Beaumont and Fletcher's *Four Plays in One* consists of four *Triumphs*—of Honor, of Love, of Death, and of Time.

⁴ Francis Bacon was concerned as author, or "chief contriver," or "chief encourager" of six Elizabethan masques. Two were for entertainments given to Queen Elizabeth by the Earl of Essex; three were Gray's Inn masques; and he was "chief contriver" of Beaumont's masque *The Marriage of the Thames and the Rhine*, written for the marriage of the Princess Elizabeth, and presented February 20, 1613.

⁵ *Broken music.* Music arranged for different instruments, 'part' or concerted music. "And so likewise in that music which we call *broken music*, or consort music, some consorts of instruments are sweeter than others (a thing not sufficiently yet observed): as the Irish harp and base viol agree well; the recorder and stringed music

and the ditty¹ fitted to the device. Acting in song, especially in dialogues, hath an extreme good grace; I say acting, not dancing (for that is a mean and vulgar thing); and the voices of the dialogue would² be strong and manly, (a base and a tenor; no treble;) and the ditty high and tragical; not nice³ or dainty.⁴ Several quires, placed one over against another, and taking the voice by catches,⁵ anthem-wise, give great pleasure. Turning dances into figure is a childish curiosity. And generally let it be

agree well; organs and the voice agree well, &c; but the virginals and the lute, or the Welsh harp and Irish harp, or the voice and pipes alone, agree not so well." Bacon. *Sylva Sylvarum*. Century III. 278.

¹ Ditty. A song; now, a short, simple song.

"And near, and nearer as they row'd,
Distinct the martial ditty flow'd."

Scott. *The Lady of the Lake*. II. xviii.

² Would. Should.

³ Nice. Fine, delicate, finicky.

"Why, brother, wherefore stand you on nice points?"

Shakspeare. III. *King Henry VI*. iv. 7.

⁴ Dainty. Choice; excellent.

"Ay? indeed? a scheme o' yours? that must be a denty ane!"

Scott. *Old Mortality*. VI.

⁵ Catch. Originally, a short musical composition in which each succeeding singer takes up or 'catches' his part in turn; a round. Subsequently, especially applied to rounds, in which the words are so arranged as to produce ludicrous effects, one singer 'catching' at the words of another.

"Sir Toby. Shall we rouse the night-owl in a catch that will draw three souls out of one weaver? shall we do that?"

Sir Andrew. An you love me, let 's do 't: I am a dog at a catch.

Clown. By 'r Lady, sir, and some dogs will catch well.

Sir Andrew. Most certain. Let our catch be, *Thou knave*.

Clown. Hold thy peace, thou knave, knight? I shall be constrained in 't to call thee knave, knight.

Sir Andrew. 'T is not the first time I have constrained one to call me knave. Begin, Fool: it begins, *Hold thy peace*.

Clown. I shall never begin, if I hold my peace.

Sir Andrew. Good, i' faith. Come, begin.

[They sing the catch.]

Shakspeare. *Twelfth Night*. ii. 3.

noted, that those things which I here set down are such as do naturally take the sense, and not respect petty wonderments.¹ It is true, the alterations of scenes, so it be quietly and without noise, are things of great beauty and pleasure; for they feed and relieve the eye, before it be full of the same object. Let the scenes abound with light, especially coloured and varied; and let the masquers, or any other, that are to come down from the scene, have some motions upon the scene itself before their coming down; for it draws the eye strangely, and makes it with great pleasure to desire to see that it cannot perfectly discern. Let the songs be loud and cheerful, and not chirpings or pulings.² Let the music likewise be sharp and loud, and well placed. The colours that shew best by candle-light, are white, carnation, and a kind of sea-water-green; and oes,³ or spangs,⁴ as they are of no great cost, so they are of most glory.⁵ As for rich embroidery, it is lost and not discerned. Let the suits of the masquers be graceful, and such

¹ Wonderment. Surprise.

² Puling. Whining.

³ Oes. Small round spangles used to ornament dress in the seventeenth century.

"Fair Helena; who more engilds the night
Than all yon fiery O's and eyes of light."

Shakspeare. *A Midsummer-Night's Dream.* iii. 2.

"The Ornaments of Honor were these: a rich full robe of blew silke girt about her, a mantle of siluer worne ouerthwart, ful gathered, and descending in folds behind: a vaile of net lawne, embroidered with Oos and Spangl'd." *George Chapman. The Memorable Maske of the two Honorable Houses or Inns of Court; the Middle Temple, and Lyncolns Inne.* . . . "With a description of their whole show."

⁴ Spang. A shining object or ornament; a spangle.

"The compass heaven, smooth without grain or fold,
All set with spangs of glitt'ring stars untold."

Bacon. *The Translation of the CIVth Psalm.*

⁵ Glory. Brilliancy, splendor.

as become the person when the vizards¹ are off; not after examples of known attires; Turks, soldiers, mariners, and the like. Let anti-masques² not be long; they have been commonly of fools, satyrs, baboons, wild-men, antics,³ beasts, sprites,⁴ witches, Ethiops, pigmies, turquets,⁵ nymphs, rustics, Cupids, statua's moving, and the like. As for angels, it is not comical enough to put them in anti-masques; and anything that is hideous, as devils, giants, is on the other side as unfit. But chiefly, let the music of them be recreative, and with some strange changes. Some sweet odours suddenly coming forth, without any drops falling, are, in such a company as there is steam and heat, things of great pleasure and refreshment. Double masques, one of men, another of ladies, addeth state and variety. But all is nothing except the room be kept clear and neat.

For justs,⁶ and tourneys,⁷ and barriers;⁸ the

¹ Vizard (visor). A mask covering the face.

² Anti-masque. A grotesque interlude between the acts of a masque, to which it served as a foil, and of which it was at first often a burlesque. Urson and his bears, and Straying and deformed Pilgrims, are two anti-masques of Ben Jonson's *Masque of Augurs*, acted before the Court, Christmas, 1621.

³ Antic. A clown, a mountebank, a buffoon.

"Thou antic death, which laugh'st us here to scorn."

Shakspeare. *I. King Henry VI. iv. 7.*

⁴ Sprite (spirit). Elf, fairy, goblin.

"Of these am I, whq thy protection claim,
A watchful sprite, and Ariel is my name."

Pope. *The Rape of the Lock. I. 108-109.*

⁵ Turquet. A diminutive figure of a Turk or Mohammedan.

⁶ Just (joust). A mock fight, as at a tournament.

⁷ Tourney. A tournament; a mock fight or martial sport of the middle ages for exhibiting prowess and skill in arms.

⁸ Barriers. The palisades enclosing the ground where a tournament, tilting, or other martial contest or exhibition was held; the lists. Hence, a masque or entertainment in the form of a tournament. Ben Jonson wrote an entertainment presented at Court, Jan. 6, 1610, called *Prince Henry's Barriers*.

glories of them are chiefly in the chariots, wherein the challengers make their entry; especially if they be drawn with strange beasts: as lions, bears, camels, and the like; or in the devices¹ of their entrance; or in the bravery of their liveries; or in the goodly furniture of their horses and armour. But enough of these toys.²

XXXVIII. OF NATURE IN MEN.

NATURE is often hidden; sometimes overcome; seldom extinguished. Force maketh nature more violent in the return; doctrine and discourse maketh nature less importune;³ but custom only doth alter and subdue nature. He that seeketh victory over his nature, let him not set himself too great nor too small tasks; for the first will make him dejected by often failings; and the second will make him a small proceeder, though by often prevailings. And at the first let him practise with helps, as swimmers do with bladders or rushes; but after a time let him practise with disadvantages, as dancers do with thick shoes. For it breeds great perfection, if the practice be harder than the use. Where nature is mighty, and therefore the victory hard, the degrees

¹ *Device.* Something devised or fancifully invented for dramatic representation.

"The song is heard, the rosy garland worn;
Devices quaint, and frolics ever new,
Tread on each other's kibes."

Byron. *Childe Harold*. I. lxxvii.

² This Essay is not translated. S.

³ *Importune.* Importunate; troublesome.

had need be,¹ first to stay and arrest nature in time; like to him that would say over the four and twenty letters when he was angry; then to go less in quantity; as if one should, in forbearing wine, come from drinking healths to a draught at a meal; and lastly, to discontinue altogether. But if a man have the fortitude and resolution to enfranchise himself at once, that is the best:

Optimus ille animi vindex lædencia pectus
Vincula qui rupit, dedoluitque semel.²

Neither is the ancient rule amiss, to bend nature as a wand to a contrary extreme, whereby to set it right, understanding it, where the contrary extreme is no vice. Let not a man force a habit upon himself with a perpetual continuance, but with some intermission. For both the pause reinforceth the new onset; and if a man that is not perfect be ever in practice, he shall as well practise his errors as his abilities, and induce one habit of both; and there is no means to help this but by seasonable intermissions. But let not a man trust his victory over his nature too far; for nature will lay³ buried a great time, and yet revive upon the occasion or temptation. Like as it was with Æsop's⁴ damsel, turned from a

¹ *Had need be.* *Had*, with following infinitive, means *to be under obligation, to be necessitated*, to do something; *need* in this idiom is the Middle English genitive, *nede*, 'of need, or necessity.'

² He is the best assertor of the soul who bursts the bonds that gail his breast, and suffers all at once. *P. Ovidii Nasonis Remedia Amoris.* 293-294.

³ So in original, and also in Ed. 1639. I have not thought it right to substitute *lie*, as has been usually done; because it may be that the form of the word was not settled in Bacon's time; and the correction of obsolete forms tends to conceal the history of the language. Compare *Natural History*, Century I. 19. S.

⁴ *Æsop* or *Esop*. According to tradition, a Greek fabulist of the 6th century, B.C., represented as a dwarf and originally a slave.

cat to a woman, who sat very demurely at the board's end, till a mouse ran before her.¹ Therefore let a man either avoid the occasion altogether; or put himself often to it, that he may be little moved with it. A man's nature is best perceived in privateness,² for there is no affectation; in passion, for that putteth a man out of his precepts; and in a new case or experiment, for there custom leaveth him. They are happy men whose natures sort with their vocations; otherwise they may say, *multum incola fuit anima mea*³ when they converse⁴ in those things they do not affect.⁵ In studies, whatsoever a man commandeth upon himself, let him set hours for it; but whatsoever is agreeable to his nature, let him take no care for any set times; for his thoughts will fly to it of themselves; so as the spaces of other business or studies will suffice. A man's nature runs either to herbs or weeds; therefore let him seasonably water the one, and destroy the other.

¹ *Fables of Aesop and other Eminent Mythologists: with Morals and Reflexions. By Sir Roger L'Estrange, Kt. Fable LXI. A Cat and Venus.*

² *Privateness. Privacy.*

³ *Psalms cxx. 6. Vulgate.* In the Douay Bible of 1610 this verse is translated "My soul hath long been a sojourner"; in the Authorized Version, it is, "My soul hath long dwelt with him that hateth peace."

⁴ *Converse. To deal with, or to be engaged in.*

⁵ *Affect. To like.*

"In brief, sir, study what you most affect."

Shakspeare. The Taming of the Shrew. i. 1.

XXXIX. OF CUSTOM AND EDUCATION.

MEN'S thoughts are much according to their inclination; their discourse and speeches according to their learning and infused opinions; but their deeds are after¹ as² they have been accustomed. And therefore, as Machiavel well noteth (though in an evil-favoured instance), there is no trusting to the force of nature nor to the bravery of words, except it be corroborate³ by custom. His instance is, that for the achieving of a desperate conspiracy, a man should not rest upon the fierceness of any man's nature, or his resolute undertakings; but take such an one as hath had his hands formerly in blood.⁴ But Machiavel knew not of a friar Clement,⁵ nor a Ravillac,⁶ nor a Jaureguy,⁷ nor a Baltazar Gerard; yet his rule holdeth still, that nature, nor the engagement of words, are not so forcible as custom. Only superstition is now so well advanced, that men

¹ *After.* According to. "O Lord, deal not with us *after* our sins." *The Litany.*

² *As.* *That.*

³ *Corroborate.* Preterit participle, clipped form. *Strengthened, confirmed.*

"Ye know my father was the rightful heir
Of England, and his right came down to me,
Corroborate by your acts of Parliament."

Tennyson. Queen Mary. ii. 2.

⁴ *Discorsi di Niccolò Machiavelli Segretario e Citt. Fiorentino sopra La Prima Deca di T. Livio. III. 6. Delle Congiure. p. 40.*

⁵ Jacques Clément, 1555(?)–1589, a fanatical monk who murdered Henry III., of France.

⁶ François Ravillac, 1578(?)–1610, assassinated Henry IV., of France, May 14, 1610.

⁷ John Jaureguy attempted to assassinate William the Silent, Prince of Orange, March 18, 1582. On July 10, 1584, William the Silent was shot by Balthazar Gérard.

of the first blood¹ are as firm as butchers by occupation; and votary² resolution is made equipollent³ to custom even in matter of blood. In other things the predominancy of custom is every where visible; insomuch as a man would wonder to hear men profess, protest, engage, give great words, and then do just as they have done before; as if they were dead images, and engines moved only by the wheels of custom. We see also the reign or tyranny of custom, what it is. The Indians (I mean the sect of their wise men) lay themselves quietly upon a stack of wood, and so sacrifice themselves by fire. Nay the wives strive to be burned with the corpses of their husbands. The lads of Sparta,⁴ of ancient time, were wont to be scourged upon the altar of Diana, without so much as queching.⁵ I remember, in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's⁶ time of England, an Irish rebel condemned, put up a petition to the Deputy that he might be hanged in a with,⁷ and not in an halter; because it had been so used with former rebels. There be monks in Russia, for penance, that will sit a whole night in a vessel of water, till they be engaged⁸ with hard ice. Many examples may be put of the force of custom, both upon mind

¹ The translation has *primæ classis sicarii*; (murderers of the first class): which seems to me to miss the meaning of the English. "Men of the first blood" must mean here, *men whose hands have not been in blood before.* S.

² Votary. Consecrated by a vow.

³ Equipollent. Equivalent.

⁴ *M. Tullii Ciceronis Tusculanarum Disputationum ad M. Brutum Liber II. Caput 14.*

⁵ Quech, or quitch, means to flinch, to shrink.

⁶ Elizabeth, 1533-1603, Queen of England, 1558-1603.

⁷ With, withe. A willow twig; a band of twigs. "And Samson said unto her, If they bind me with seven green *withs* that were never dried, then shall I be weak, and be as another man." *Judges xvi. 7.*

⁸ Engaged with. Held in.

and body. Therefore, since custom is the principal magistrate of man's life, let men by all means endeavour to obtain good customs. Certainly custom is most perfect when it beginneth in young years: this we call education; which is, in effect, but an early custom. So we see, in languages the tongue is more pliant to all expressions and sounds, the joints are more supple to all feats of activity and motions, in youth than afterwards. For it is true that late learners cannot so well take the ply;¹ except it be in some minds that have not suffered themselves to fix, but have kept themselves open and prepared to receive continual amendment, which is exceeding rare. But if the force of custom simple and separate be great, the force of custom copulate² and conjoined and collegiate³ is far greater. For there example teacheth, company comforteth,⁴ emulation quickeneth, glory raiseth: so as in such places the force of custom is in his⁵ exaltation.⁶ Certainly the great multiplication⁷ of virtues upon human na-

¹ *Ply. Bent, direction.*

² *Copulate. Connected, united.*

³ *Collegiate. Of or belonging to colleagues; corporate.*

⁴ *Comfort, in the Latin sense, to strengthen much.* "Yea, though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I will fear no evil: for thou art with me; thy rod and thy staff they comfort me." *Psalms xxiii. 4.* "Be comfortable to my mother, your mistress, and make much of her." *Shakspeare. All's Well that Ends Well. i. 1.*

⁵ *His. Its.* The pronoun 'its' first appeared in print in John Florio's *A Worlde of Wordes*, 1598. It does not occur in King James's Bible of 1611, nor in any work of Shakspeare published during his lifetime. There are, however, nine 'it's' and one 'its' in the Shakspeare folio of 1623. The essay *Of Custom and Education* first saw the light in the second edition of the *Essays*, in 1612.

⁶ *Exaltation.* In astrological language, a planet was said to be in exaltation when it was in that sign of the zodiac where it was supposed to exert its strongest influence.

⁷ *Multiplication upon.* Compare the language of the Collect for the fourth Sunday after Trinity in *The Book of Common Prayer*: "Increase and multiply upon us thy mercy."

ture resteth upon societies well ordained and disciplined. For commonwealths and good governments do nourish virtue grown, but do not much mend the seeds. But the misery is, that the most effectual means are now applied to the ends least to be desired.

XL. OF FORTUNE.

It cannot be denied, but outward accidents conduce much to fortune; favour, opportunity, death of others, occasion fitting virtue. But chiefly, the mould of a man's fortune is in his own hands. *Faber quisque fortunæ suæ*,¹ saith the poet. And the most frequent of external causes is, that the folly of one man is the fortune of another. For no man prospers so suddenly as by others' errors. *Serpens nisi serpentem comederit non fit draco*.² Overt and apparent³ virtues bring forth praise; but there be secret and hidden virtues that bring forth fortune; certain deliveries of a man's self, which have no

¹ Every man is the maker of his own fortune. It is a Latin epigram of Bacon's, making in four words a short cut through eight words of Plautus:

Nam sapiens quidem pol ipse fingit fortunam sibi.

For indeed the wise man really makes his own fortune for himself. *Plautus. Trinummus. II. ii. 82.*

² Unless the serpent has devoured a serpent, it does not become a dragon.

³ Apparent. *Manifest to the understanding, evident, plain.*

"It may be, these apparent prodigies,
The unaccustom'd terror of this night,
And the persuasion of his augurers,
May hold him from the Capitol to-day."

Shakspeare. Julius Caesar. ii. 1.

name. The Spanish name, *desemboltura*,¹ partly expresseth them; when there be not stonds nor res-tiveness in a man's nature; but that the wheels of his mind keep way² with the wheels of his fortune. For so Livy (after he had described Cato Major³ in these words, *In illo viro tantum robur corporis et animi fuit, ut quocunque loco natus esset, fortunam sibi facturum videretur*)⁴ falleth upon that, that he had *versatile ingenium*.⁵ Therefore if a man look sharply and attentively, he shall see Fortune: for though she be blind, yet she is not invisible. The way of fortune is like the milken way⁶ in the sky; which is a meeting or knot of a number of small stars; not seen asunder, but giving light together. So are there a number of little and scarce discerned virtues, or rather faculties and customs, that make men fortunate. The Italians note some of them, such as a man would little think. When they speak of one that cannot do amiss, they will throw in into his other conditions, that he hath *Poco di matto*.⁷ And certainly there be not two more fortunate properties, than to have a little of the fool, and not

¹ *Desemboltura* for *desenvoltura* (from *desenvolver*, to unroll, unfold). Graceful and easy delivery of one's sentiments and thoughts.

² *Keep way*. To keep pace.

³ Marcus Porcius Cato, surnamed 'the Censor' and Priscus, 234-149 B.C., Roman statesman, general, and writer.

⁴ In that man there was so much strength of body and of mind, that in whatever place he had been born, it seems he would have made a fortune for himself. (*In hoc viro tanta vis animi ingenique fuit, ut quocunque loco natus esset, fortunam sibi ipse facturum fuisse videretur*. T. Livii Patavini Historiarum Ab Urbe Condita Liber XXXIX. Caput 40.)

⁵ A mind easily turned from one thing to another.

⁶ *Milken way*. The galaxy, or milky way; a luminous band or track encircling the heavens irregularly, and known to consist of innumerable stars perceptible only by means of the telescope.

⁷ A little of the fool.

too much of the honest. Therefore extreme lovers of their country or masters were never fortunate, neither can they be. For when a man placeth his thoughts without himself, he goeth not his own way. An hasty fortune maketh an enterpriser¹ and remover;² (the French hath it better, *entreprenant*, or *remuant*;) but the exercised fortune maketh the able man. Fortune is to be honoured and respected, and it be but for her daughters, Confidence and Reputation. For those two felicity breedeth; the first within a man's self, the latter in others towards him. All wise men, to decline³ the envy of their own virtues, use to ascribe them to Providence and Fortune; for so they may the better assume them: and, besides, it is greatness in a man to be the care of the higher powers. So Cæsar said to the pilot in the tempest, *Cæsarem portas, et fortunam ejus*.⁴ So Sylla chose the name of *Felix*, and not of *Magnus*.⁵ And it hath been noted, that those who ascribe openly too much to their own wisdom and policy, end infortunate. It is written that Timotheus⁶ the Athenian, after he had, in the account he gave to the state of his government, often interlaced this speech, *and in this Fortune had no part*, never prospered in any thing he undertook afterwards. Certainly there be, whose fortunes are like Homer's verses, that have a slide⁷ and easiness more than

¹ *Enterpriser.* One who attempts an undertaking; an adventurer.

² *Remover.* An agitator.

³ *Decline.* To avoid; to turn aside.

⁴ You carry Caesar and his fortune. *Plutarch. Life of Caesar.*

⁵ 'Fortunate' and not of 'Great.' *Plutarch. Life of Sulla.*

⁶ Timotheus, died 354 B.C., Athenian naval commander.

⁷ *Slide.* Fluency.

the verses of other poets; as Plutarch saith of Timoleon's¹ fortune, in respect of that of Agesilaus or Epaminondas.² And that this should be, no doubt it is much in a man's self.

XLI. OF USURY.

MANY have made witty invectives against Usury.³ They say that it is a pity the devil should have God's part, which is the tithe. That the usurer is the greatest sabbath-breaker, because his plough goeth every Sunday. That the usurer is the drone that Virgil speaketh of:

Ignavum fucos pecus a præsepibus arcent.⁴

That the usurer breaketh the first law that was made for mankind after the fall, which was, *in sudore vultûs tui comedes panem tuum*; not, *in sudore vultûs alieni*.⁵ That usurers should have orange-tawny⁶ bonnets, because they do judaize. That it

¹ Timoleon, died 337 or 336 B.C., a celebrated Corinthian general and statesman.

² Epaminondas, 418(?)–362 B.C., Theban general and statesman, victorious but mortally wounded in the battle of Mantinea, 362 B.C.

³ Usury formerly meant interest on money only, as in the parable, *Luke xix. 23*: "Wherefore then gavest not thou my money into the bank, that at my coming I might have required mine own with usury?" Usury now means an illegal or exorbitant rate of interest for lent money.

⁴ They drive from the hives the drones in lazy swarm. *P. Vergili Maronis Georgicon Liber IV. 168.*

⁵ In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat thy bread; not in the sweat of the face of another. Bacon has in mind the curse of Adam after the fall, *Genesis iii. 19*: "In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread till thou return unto the ground; for out of it wast thou taken: for dust thou art and unto dust shalt thou return."

⁶ *Coryats Crudities, Vol. I. Observations of Venice, pp. 370–372, ed. 1905*, records the "orange-tawny bonnets" of the Jews, which

is against nature for money to beget money; and the like. I say this only, that usury is a *concessum propter duritiem cordis*:¹ for since there must be borrowing and lending, and men are so hard of heart as they will not lend freely, usury must be permitted. Some others have made suspicious and cunning propositions of banks, discovery of men's estates, and other inventions. But few have spoken of usury usefully. It is good to set before us the incommunities² and commodities³ of usury, that the good may be either weighed out or culled out; and warily to provide, that while we make forth to that which is better, we meet not with that which is worse.

The discommodities of usury are, First, that it makes fewer merchants. For were it not for this lazy trade of usury, money would not lie still, but would in great part be employed upon merchandizing;⁴ which is the *vena porta*⁵ of wealth in a state.

Thomas Coryate saw in 1611. In the Ghetto, he says, "the Levantine Jewes, which are borne in Hierusalem, Alexandria, Constantinople, &c., weare Turbents upon their heads as the Turkes do; but the difference is this: the Turkes weare white, the Jewes yellow." In the synagogue of Venice, he goes on, "every one of them whatsoever he be, man or childe, weareth a kinde of light yellowish vaile, made of Linsie Woolsie (as I take it) over his shoulders, something worse than our courser Holland, which reacheth a little beneath the middle of their backes." Sir Walter Scott, describing the dress of the Jew, Isaac of York, says: "He wore a high, square yellow cap of a peculiar fashion, assigned to his nation to distinguish them from Christians, and which he doffed with great humility at the door of the hall." *Ivanhoe*. V.

¹ A concession on account of the hardness of heart [of men].

² *Incommunities*. *Disadvantages*.

³ *Commodities*. *Advantages*.

⁴ *Merchandizing*. *Buying and selling, trading*.

⁵ *Vena porta*, or *portae*, or *portarum*, that is, the 'vein of the gate,' the gateway (of the liver). The portal vein is a short trunk which receives the blood from the viscera and carries it to the liver. The metaphor illustrates its importance to the physical economy.

The second, that it makes poor merchants. For as a farmer cannot husband his ground so well if he sit¹ at a great rent; so the merchant cannot drive his trade so well, if he sit at great usury. The third is incident to the other two; and that is the decay of customs of kings or states, which ebb or flow with merchandizing. The fourth, that it bringeth the treasure of a realm or state into a few hands. For the usurer being at certainties, and others at uncertainties at the end of the game most of the money will be in the box; and ever a state flourisheth when wealth is more equally spread. The fifth, that it beats down the price of land; for the employment of money is chiefly either merchandizing or purchasing; and usury waylays both. The sixth, that it doth dull and damp all industries, improvements, and new inventions, wherein money would be stirring, if it were not for this slug.² The last, that it is the canker and ruin of many men's estates; which in process of time breeds a public poverty.

On the other side, the commodities of usury are, first, that howsoever³ usury in some respect hindereth merchandizing, yet in some other it advanceth it; for it is certain that the greatest part of trade is driven by young merchants, upon borrowing at interest; so as⁴ if the usurer either call in or keep back his money, there will ensue presently a

¹ *Sit.* To be located or placed; to abide. "And, Steenie, if you can hold your tongue about this matter, you shall sit, from this term downward, at an easier rent." *Scott. Redgauntlet. Letter XI. Wandering Willie's Tale.*

² *Slug.* Hindrance, obstruction.

³ *Howsoever.* Notwithstanding that, albeit.

⁴ *As.* That.

great stand of trade. The second is, that were it not for this easy borrowing upon interest, men's necessities would draw upon them a most sudden undoing; in that they would be forced to sell their means (be it lands or goods) far under foot;¹ and so, whereas usury doth but gnaw upon them, bad markets would swallow them quite up. As for mortgaging or pawning, it will little mend the matter: for either men will not take pawns² without use;³ or if they do, they will look precisely for the forfeiture. I remember a cruel monied man in the country, that would say, The devil take this usury, it keep us from forfeitures of mortgages and bonds. The third and last is, that it is a vanity to conceive that there would be ordinary borrowing without profit; and it is impossible to conceive the number of inconveniences that will ensue, if borrowing be cramped. Therefore to speak of the abolishing of usury is idle. All states have ever had it, in one kind or rate, or other. So as that opinion must be sent to Utopia.⁴

¹ *Under foot.* Below standard value.

² *Pawn.* Surety, pledge. "Do you hear, sir? we have no store of money at this time, but you shall have good *pawns*; look you, sir, this jewel, and that gentleman's silk stockings." *Ben Jonson. Every Man in his Humour.* iv. 7.

³ *Use.* Interest.

"Me, therefore, studious of laborious ease,
Not slothful, happy to deceive the time,
Not waste it, and aware that human life
Is but a loan to be repaid with *use*,
When He shall call his debtors to account,
From whom are all our blessings, business finds
E'en here."

Cowper. The Task. Book III. The Garden.

⁴ *Utopia.* 'Nowhere,' in Greek; an imaginary island which is the seat of an ideal commonwealth in Sir Thomas More's political romance of the same name. It was published in Latin, in 1516, and entitled, *De Optimo Reipublicae Statu, deque Nova Insula Utopia.*

To speak now of the reformation and reiglement¹ of usury; how the discommodities of it may be best avoided, and the commodities retained. It appears by the balance of commodities and discommodities of usury, two things are to be reconciled. The one that the tooth of usury be grinded, that it bite not too much; the other, that there be left open a means to invite monied men to lend to the merchants, for the continuing and quickening² of trade. This cannot be done, except you introduce two several sorts of usury, a less and a greater. For if you reduce usury to one low rate, it will ease the common borrower, but the merchant will be to seek³ for money. And it is to be noted, that the trade of merchandize, being the most lucrative, may bear usury at a good rate: other contracts not so.

To serve both intentions,⁴ the way would be briefly thus. That there be two rates of usury; the one free, and general for all; the other under licence only, to certain persons and in certain places of merchandizing. First therefore, let usury in general be reduced to five in the hundred; and let that rate be proclaimed to be free and current; and let the state shut itself out to take any penalty for the same. This will preserve borrowing from any general stop or dryness. This will ease infinite⁵ bor-

¹ *Reiglement (reglement). Regulation.*

² *Quickened. To give life to.*

³ *To seek*, used adjectively, usually with *be*, as here. *At a loss; without knowledge, influence, or resources.* "I that have dealt so long in the fire, will not *be to seek* in smoke, now." *Ben Jonson. Bartholomew Fair. ii. 1.*

⁴ *Intention. Object, purpose.*

⁵ *Infinite.* In hyperbolical use, *very much or many; 'no end of.'* Always in the plural.

rowers in the country. This will, in good part, raise the price of land, because land purchased at sixteen years' purchase will yield six in the hundred, and somewhat more; whereas this rate of interest yields but five. This by like reason will encourage and edge industrious and profitable improvements; because many will rather venture in that kind than take five in the hundred, especially having been used to greater profit. Secondly, let there be certain persons licensed to lend to known merchants upon usury at a higher rate; and let it be with the cautions following. Let the rate be, even with the merchant himself, somewhat more easy than that he used formerly to pay; for by that means all borrowers shall have some ease by this reformation, be he merchant, or whosoever. Let it be no bank or common stock, but every man be master of his own money. Not that I altogether dislike¹ banks, but they will hardly be brooked, in regard² of certain suspicions. Let the state be answered³ some small matter for the licence, and the rest left to the lender; for if the abatement be but small, it will no whit discourage the lender. For he, for example, that took before ten or nine in the hundred, will sooner descend to eight in the hundred, than give over his trade of usury, and go from certain gains to gains

¹ *Mislike.* To dislike; to disapprove of.

"Mislike me not for my complexion."

Shakspeare. The Merchant of Venice. ii. 1.

² *In regard 'of' or 'to.'* Out of consideration for.

"I thank my liege that in regard of me

He shortens four years of my son's exile."

Shakspeare. King Richard II. i. 3.

³ *Answer.* To repay; to pay.

of hazard. Let these licensed lenders be in number indefinite, but restrained to certain principal cities and towns of merchandizing; for then they will be hardly able to colour¹ other men's monies in the country: so as the licence of nine will not suck away the current rate of five; for no man will lend his monies far off, nor put them into unknown hands.

If it be objected that this doth in a sort authorize usury, which before was in some places but permissive; the answer is, that it is better to mitigate usury by declaration, than to suffer it to rage by connivance.

XLII. OF YOUTH AND AGE.

A MAN that is young in years may be old in hours, if he have lost no time. But that happeneth rarely. Generally, youth is like the first cogitations, not so wise as the second. For there is a youth in thoughts, as well as in ages. And yet the invention of young men is more lively than that of old; and imaginations stream into their minds better, and as it were more divinely. Natures that have much heat and great and violent desires and perturbations, are not ripe for action till they have passed the meridian of their years; as it was with Julius Cæsar, and Septimius Severus. Of the latter of whom it is said, *Juventu-*

¹ Colour. To represent or deal with the property of another as one's own.

*tem egit erroribus, imo furoribus, plenam.*¹ And yet he was the ablest emperor, almost, of all the list. But reposed² natures may do well in youth. As it is seen in Augustus Cæsar, Cosmus Duke of Florence, Gaston de Foix,³ and others. On the other side, heat and vivacity in age is an excellent composition⁴ for business. Young men are fitter to invent than to judge; fitter for execution than for counsel; and fitter for new projects than for settled business. For the experience of age, in things that fall within the compass of it, directeth them; but in new things, abuseth⁵ them. The errors of young men are the ruin of business; but the errors of aged men amount but to this, that more might have been done, or sooner. Young men, in the conduct and manage⁶ of actions, embrace more than they can hold; stir more than they can quiet; fly to the end, without consideration of the means and degrees; pursue some few principles which they have chanced

¹ He spent his youth in errors, nay rather, it was full of mad-
nesses. Quoted with variations. "*Juventam plenam furorum, non-
nunquam et criminum habuit.*" *Aelius Spartianus. Life of Septi-
mius Severus, Caput 2, in Augustae Historiae Scriptores.*

² *Reposed. Calm.*

³ Gaston de Foix, Duc de Nemours, 1489–1512, son of Jean de Foix, Vicomte de Narbonne and of Marie d'Orléans, sister of Louis XII., a celebrated French general. He commanded the French armies in Italy against the Spaniards, and was killed in the battle of Ravenna, in 1512.

⁴ *Composition. Temperament.*

⁵ *Abuse. To deceive, to lead astray.*

"The Devil hath power
T' assume a pleasing shape; yea, and perhaps,
Out of my weakness and my melancholy,—
As he is very potent with such spirits,—
Abuses me to damn me."

Shakspeare. Hamlet. ii. 2.

⁶ *Manage. Management.*

"I commit into your hands
The husbandry and *manage* of my house."

Shakspeare. The Merchant of Venice. iii. 4.

upon absurdly; care¹ not to innovate, which draws unknown inconveniences; use extreme remedies at first; and that which doubleth all errors, will not acknowledge or retract them; like an unready horse, that will neither stop nor turn. Men of age object too much, consult too long, adventure too little, repent too soon, and seldom drive business home to the full period,² but content themselves with a mediocrity of success. Certainly it is good to compound employments of both; for that will be good for the present, because the virtues of either age may correct the defects of both; and good for succession, that young men may be learners, while men in age are actors; and, lastly, good for extern³ accidents, because authority followeth old men, and favour and popularity youth. But for the moral part, perhaps youth will have the pre-eminence, as age hath for the politic. A certain rabbin, upon the text, *Your young men shall see visions, and your old men shall dream dreams*,⁴ inferreth that young men are admitted nearer to God than old, because vision is a clearer revelation than a dream. And certainly, the more a man drinketh of the world, the more it intoxicateth: and age doth profit⁵ rather in the powers of understanding, than in the virtues of the will and affections. There be some have an over-early ripe-

¹ *Care not to innovate*, are not careful how they innovate, that is to say, young men are incautious, heedless.

² *Period.* Completion.

³ *Extern.* External.

⁴ "And it shall come to pass afterward, that I will pour out my Spirit upon all flesh; and your sons and your daughters shall prophesy, your old men shall dream dreams, your young men shall see visions." *Joel ii. 28.*

⁵ *Profit.* To improve. "Meditate upon these things; give thyself wholly to them; that thy *profiting* may appear to all." *I. Timothy iv. 15.*

ness in their years, which fadeth betimes. These are, first, such as have brittle wits, the edge whereof is soon turned; such as was Hermogenes¹ the rhetorician, whose books are exceeding subtle; who afterwards waxed stupid. A second sort is of those that have some natural dispositions which have better grace in youth than in age; such as is a fluent and luxuriant speech; which becomes youth well, but not age: so Tully saith of Hortensius,² *Idem manebat, neque idem decebat*.³ The third is of such as take too high a strain at the first, and are magnanimous more than tract⁴ of years can uphold. As was Scipio Africanus,⁵ of whom Livy⁶ saith in effect, *Ultima primis cedebant*.⁷

¹ Hermogenes, of Tarsus, in Cilicia, lived in the second half of the second century, A.D. He was a noted Greek rhetorician, and is said to have lost his memory at the age of twenty-five.

² Quintus Hortensius, 114–50 B.C., an eminent Roman orator and contemporary of Cicero, who said of him: "*Sed quum iam honores et illa senior auctoritas gravius quiddam requireret, remanebat idem nec decebat idem.*" Marcus Tullius Cicero. *Brutus*. Caput 95.

³ He remained the same, but the same was no longer becoming. Vivacity which increases with age is little short of folly. *La vivacité qui augmente en vieillissant ne va pas loin de la folie. Maximes et Réflexions Morales du duc de La Rochefoucauld*. 416.

⁴ Tract. Course.

"My fancies all be fledde:

And tract of time begins to weave,

Gray heares upon my hedde."

Tottel's Miscellany. The aged lover renounceth love. Thomas Lord Vaux. This is the ballad from which Shakspeare took the gravedigger's song in *Hamlet*. v. 1.

⁵ Publius Cornelius Scipio Africanus Major, 234–183 (?) B.C., a great Roman general, who defeated the Carthaginians under Hannibal in the battle of Zama, 202 B.C.

⁶ Titus Livius, 59 B.C. to 17 A.D., a great Roman historian. He wrote a history of Rome, from the founding of the city to the death of the Roman general Nero Claudius Drusus, brother of Tiberius, 9 B.C. The work consisted of 142 books, of which 35 are extant, 1–10, and 21–45.

⁷ The last fell short of the first. Bacon's three Latin words condense fourteen of Livy's. "*Vir memorabilis, bellicis tamen quam pacis artibus memorabilior, prima pars vitæ quam postrema fuit.*"

XLIII. OF BEAUTY.

VIRTUE is like a rich stone, best plain set; and surely virtue is best in a body that is comely, though not of delicate features; and that hath rather dignity of presence, than beauty of aspect. Neither is it almost¹ seen, that very beautiful persons are otherwise of great virtue; as if nature were rather busy not to err, than in labour to produce excellency.² And therefore they prove accomplished, but not of great spirit; and study rather behaviour than virtue. But this holds not always: for Augustus Cæsar, Titus Vespasianus, Philip le Bel³ of France, Edward the Fourth⁴ of England, Alcibiades⁵ of Athens, Ismael the Sophy⁶ of Persia, were all high and great spirits; and yet the most

T. Livii Patavini Historiarum Ab Urbe Condita Liber XXXVIII. Caput 53. He probably recollected the thought, "in effect," not from Livy, but from Ovid:

*"Coepisti melius, quam desinis: ultima primis
Cedunt:"*

P. Ovidii Nasonis Heroides. Epistola IX. Deianira Herculi.
23-24.

"Alonso of Arragon was wont to say, in commendation of age, That age appeared to be best in four things: *Old wood to burn; old wine to drink; old friends to trust; and old authors to read.*" *Bacon. Apophthegmes New and Old.* 97 (75).

¹ Almost. For the most part.

² Excellency. Excellence. "Ascribe ye strength unto God: his excellency is over Israel, and his strength is in the clouds." *Psalms lxxviii.* 34.

³ Philippe le Bel, 'Philip the Fair,' Philippe IV. of the House of Capet, 1268-1314, King of France from 1285 to 1314.

⁴ Edward IV., 1441-1483, King of England, 1461-1483.

⁵ Alcibiades, 450(?) - 404 B.C., an Athenian politician and general, nephew of Pericles. He was rich, handsome, accomplished, and an admirable orator, but reckless and unsteady in character.

⁶ Ismail I., Shah (Sophy) of Persia, 1487-1524, founder of the Suffarian dynasty.

beautiful men of their times. In beauty, that of favour¹ is more than that of colour; and that of decent² and gracious³ motion more than that of favour. That is the best part of beauty, which a picture cannot express; no nor the first sight of life. There is no excellent beauty that hath not some strangeness in the proportion. A man cannot tell whether Apelles⁴ or Albert Durer⁵ were the more⁶ trifler; whereof the one would make a personage by geometrical proportions; the other, by taking the best parts out of divers⁷ faces, to

¹ *Favor.* Features, looks, a fossiliferous sense of favor, surviving in 'hard-favored,' that is, 'hard-looking,' 'ugly.' He favors his father means 'he looks like his father.' So 'kissing goes by favor' means by 'looks,' not by 'preference,' as is commonly understood.

² *Decent.* Fit, becoming. "Let all things be done decently and in order." I. Corinthians xiv. 40.

³ *Gracious.* Graceful.

"My gracious silence, hail."

Coriolanus. ii. 1.

It is Coriolanus's greeting to his wife, Virgilia, on his return from war.

⁴ Apelles, a celebrated Greek painter of the time of Philip and Alexander of Macedon, 4th century B.C. His most famous picture was the Aphrodite Anadyomene, 'Venus rising from the sea.' Both Cicero and Pliny tell us that the Greek painter of a composite face Bacon alludes to here was not Apelles, but Zeuxis, who was probably a native of Heraclea (Magna Graecia), and lived from 420 to 390 B.C. According to Cicero, when Zeuxis was commissioned to paint a picture of Helena for the temple of Juno Lacinia at Croton, he was allowed, at his own request, the presence of five of the most beautiful maidens of Croton, "*ut mutum in simulacrum ex animali exemplo veritas transferatur,*" that he might transfer the truth of life to a mute image. *M. Tullii Ciceronis Rhetoricorum seu De Inventionis Rhetorica Liber II.* 2, 3. Compare, *C. Plinii Secundi Naturalis Historiae Liber XXXV.* 36. ix.

⁵ Albrecht Dürer, 1471–1528, a famous German painter, designer of woodcuts, and engraver. He wrote a book on human proportions, *Hierinnen sind begriffen vier Bücher von menschlicher Proportion.* (Nuremberg. 1528.)

⁶ *More.* Greater.

⁷ *Divers.* Many. "And if I send them away fasting to their own houses, they will faint by the way: for divers of them came from far." *Mark viii.* 3.

make one excellent. Such personages, I think, would please nobody but the painter that made them. Not but I think a painter may make a better face than ever was; but he must do it by a kind of felicity,¹ (as a musician that maketh an excellent air in music,) and not by rule. A man shall see faces, that if you examine them part by part, you shall find never a good; and yet altogether do well. If it be true that the principal part of beauty is in decent motion, certainly it is no marvel though persons in years seem many times more amiable; *pulchrorum autumnus pulcher*;² for no youth can be comely but by pardon, and considering the youth as to make up the comeliness. Beauty is as summer fruits, which are easy to corrupt, and cannot last; and for the most part it makes a dissolute youth, and an age a little out of countenance; but yet certainly again, if it light well, it maketh virtue shine, and vices blush.

¹ *felicitate quoddam et casu*. Keats seems to have felt that this is true also with regard to his own art:—

“When I behold upon the night’s starred face
Huge cloudy symbols of a high romance,
And think that I may never live to trace
Their shadows, *with the magic hand of chance*.”
Life, Letters, &c. of John Keats, vol. ii. p. 293. S.

² The autumn of the beautiful is beautiful. A thought from Euripides, quoted in the beginning of Plutarch’s *Life of Alcibiades*. “Euripides would say of persons that were beautiful, and yet in some years, *In fair bodies not only the spring is pleasant, but also the autumn*.” Bacon. *Apophthegmes New and Old*. 145.

The spiritual beauty of old age as one sees it in the faces of old men and women who have lived good lives is nowhere so finely described as by Edmund Waller:

“The soul’s dark cottage, batter’d and decay’d,
Lies in new light through chinks that time has made.”
Edmund Waller. Old Age.

XLIV. OF DEFORMITY.¹

DEFORMED persons are commonly even with nature, for as nature hath done ill by them, so do they by nature; being for the most part (as the Scripture saith) *void of natural affection*;² and so they have their revenge of nature. Certainly there is a consent³ between the body and the mind; and where nature erreth in the one, she ventureth in the other. *Ubi peccat in uno, periclitatur in altero*. But because there is in man an election touching the frame of his mind, and a necessity in the frame of his body, the stars of natural inclination are sometimes obscured by the sun of discipline and virtue. Therefore it is good to consider of deformity, not as a sign, which is more deceivable;⁴ but as a cause, which seldom faileth of the effect. Whosoever hath any thing fixed in his person that doth induce contempt, hath also a perpetual spur in himself to rescue and deliver himself from scorn.

¹ Nicholas Chamberlain wrote to Sir Dudley Carleton, December 17, 1612, "Sir Francis Bacon hath set out new *Essays*, where in a chapter of *Deformity*, the world takes notice that he paints out his little cousin [Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury] to the life." *Court and Times of James I. I. 214. ed. 1848.*

² "Without understanding, covenant breakers, *without natural affection*, implacable, unmerciful." *Romans i. 31.*

³ *Consent. Agreement.* "For then will I turn to the people a pure language, that they may all call upon the name of the Lord, to serve him with one *consent*." *Zephaniah iii. 9.*

⁴ *Deceivable. Deceptive*, passive form with active sense.

"There 's something in 't
That is *deceivable*."

Shakspeare. Twelfth Night. iv. 3.

Therefore all deformed persons are extreme¹ bold. First, as in their own defence, as being exposed to scorn; but in process of time by a general habit. Also it stirreth in them industry, and especially of this kind, to watch and observe the weakness of others, that they may have somewhat to repay. Again, in their superiors, it quencheth jealousy towards them, as persons that they think they may at pleasure despise: and it layeth their competitors and emulators asleep; as never believing they should be in possibility of advancement, till they see them in possession. So that upon the matter,² in a great wit, deformity is an advantage to rising. Kings in ancient times (and at this present in some countries) were wont³ to put great trust in eunuchs; because they that are envious towards all are more obnoxious⁴ and officious towards one. But yet their trust towards them hath rather been as to good spials⁵ and good whisperers, than good magistrates and officers. And much like is the reason of deformed persons. Still the ground is, they will, if they be of spirit, seek to free themselves from scorn; which must be either by virtue or malice;⁶ and therefore let it not be marvelled⁷ if sometimes they prove ex-

¹ *Extreme. Extremely.*

² *Matter. Whole; 'upon the matter' means 'on the whole.'*

³ *Wont. Accustomed.*

⁴ *Obnoxious. Submissive.*

⁵ *Spials (espials). Spies.*

"The Prince's 'spials have informed me."

Shakspeare. I. King Henry VI. i. 4.

⁶ *Malice. Vice.* "Therefore let us keep the feast, not with old leaven, neither with the leaven of *malice* and wickedness; but with the unleavened bread of sincerity and truth." *I. Corinthians v. 8.*

⁷ *Marvel. To wonder at.* "*Marvel* not, my brethren, if the world hate you." *I. John iii. 13.*

cellent persons; as was Agesilaus,¹ Zanger² the son of Solyman, Æsop, Gasca³ President of Peru; and Socrates⁴ may go likewise amongst them; with others.

¹ Agesilaus II., King of Sparta from 398 to 361 B.C. He was a man of small stature and lame from his birth, but he developed into a vigorous ruler and great general.

² Zanger. Jáhangif, Tzihanger, Djangir, Zangir, or Zanger (as the name is variously spelled), 'the Crooked,' was the son of Solyman the Magnificent and Roxalana. Bacon probably read his story in Richard Knolles's *Generall Historie of the Turkes*, etc. 1603. There it is to the effect that after Solyman, at the instigation of the Sultana Roxalana, had put to death Mustapha, his son by another wife, he bade Zanger go to meet his brother. When Zanger saw his brother lying on the ground strangled, he foresaw his own probable fate, and resolved to anticipate it. He refused to inherit Mustapha's property and position, and committed suicide, much to his father's grief.

³ Pedro de la Gasca, 1485–1561, President of the Royal Audience of Peru, 1546 to 1550, and conqueror of Gonzalo Pizarro, in 1548; for his services in restoring peace and ordered government in Peru, Gasca upon his return to Spain was raised to the bishopric of Palencia, and subsequently to that of Siguenza. Prescott in the *Conquest of Peru* compares the character of Gasca 'with that of Washington. "Gasca," says Prescott, "was plain in person, and his countenance was far from comely. He was awkward and ill-proportioned; for his limbs were too long for his body,—so that when he rode he appeared to be much shorter than he really was." *History of the Conquest of Peru*. W. H. Prescott. Book V. Chapter iv.

⁴ Socrates, 470–399 B.C., a famous Greek philosopher. He is the chief character in the *Dialogues* of Plato, one of his pupils, and is the subject of the *Memorabilia* of Xenophon, another pupil. His personal appearance was so odd and ugly that he was caricatured by the comic dramatists of his time.

XLV. OF BUILDING.¹

HOUSES are built to live in, and not to look on; therefore let use be preferred² before uniformity, except where both may be had. Leave the goodly fabrics of houses, for beauty only, to the enchanted palaces of the poets; who build them with small cost. He that builds a fair house upon an ill seat,³ committeth himself to prison. Neither do I reckon it an ill seat only where the air is unwholesome; but likewise where the air is unequal; as you shall see many fine seats set upon a knap⁴ of ground, environed with higher hills round about it; whereby the heat of the sun is pent in, and the wind gathereth as in troughs; so as⁵ you shall have, and that suddenly, as great diversity of heat and cold as if you dwelt in several places. Neither is it ill⁶ air only that maketh an ill seat, but ill ways,

¹ By the death of his brother, Anthony, in 1601, Bacon inherited his father's manor of Gorhambury, near St. Albans, Herts. There, after his marriage, in 1606, he built a new country residence of great dimensions, Verulam House, spending on the mansion and gardens vastly more money than he could afford. In this and the following essay, *Of Gardens*, Bacon therefore writes from an actual experience of building a country house.

² Preferred before. The verb *prefer* is now followed by the preposition to.

³ Seat. Site.

⁴ Knap. A small hill, hillock, or knoll.

"Now, where 's the inn?" said Mountclere, yawning.

'Just on the knap,' Sol answered."

Thomas Hardy. *The Hand of Ethelberta*. Chapter XLIV.

⁵ As. That.

⁶ Ill. Bad.

ill markets: and, if you will consult with Momus,¹ ill neighbours. I speak not of many more; want of water; want of wood, shade, and shelter; want of fruitfulness, and mixture² of grounds of several natures; want of prospect; want of level grounds; want of places at some near distance for sports of hunting, hawking, and races; too near the sea, too remote; having the commodity of navigable rivers,³ or the discommodity of their overflowing; too far off from great cities, which may hinder business, or too near them, which lurcheth⁴ all provisions, and maketh every thing dear; where a man hath a great living laid together, and where he is scanted:⁵ all which, as it is impossible perhaps to find together, so it is good to know them, and think of them, that a man may take as many as he can; and if he have several dwellings, that he sort⁶ them so, that what

¹ Momus, in Greek mythology, is a god personifying censure and mockery. According to Hesiod, he is the son of Night, the sleepy god. Bacon has in mind the fable of Aesop (*Aesopi fabulae Graecolatinae*, 193), which relates that Zeus made a bull, Prometheus, a man, and Athena, a house. Momus was called upon to decide which was the best creation, and objected to all three. The bull, he said, should have its horns below its eyes in order to see where to strike; man should have a window in his breast so that his thoughts could be seen; and a house should be built on wheels, so as to be easily and quickly rolled away from uncomfortable neighbors. Bacon explains Momus's window of the heart in the *Advancement of Learning*, II. xxi. 14.

² Bacon means 'want of mixture,' the construction of 'want' going on to the semicolon.

³ So in the original, and also in Ed. 1639. It seems as if *not* had dropped out; or as if *the* should be *no*. The translation has *commoditas nulla fluviorum navigabilium*. S.

⁴ Lurch. To absorb; to monopolize.

⁵ Scant. To limit; to stint.

⁶ Sort. To choose, select, pick out.

"Nurse, will you go with me into my closet,
To help me sort such needful ornaments
As you think fit to furnish me to-morrow!"

Shakspeare. *Romeo and Juliet*. iv. 2.

he wanteth in the one he may find in the other. Lucullus answered Pompey well; who, when he saw his stately galleries, and rooms so large and light-some, in one of his houses, said, *Surely an excellent place for summer, but how do you in winter?* Lucullus answered, *Why, do you not think me as wise as some fowl are, that ever change their abode towards the winter?*¹

To pass from the seat to the house itself; we will do as Cicero doth in the orator's art; who writes books *De Oratore*, and a book he entitles *Orator*; whereof the former delivers the precepts of the art, and the latter the perfection. We will therefore describe a princely palace, making a brief model thereof. For it is strange to see, now in Europe, such huge buildings as the Vatican² and Escorial³ and some others be, and yet scarce a very fair⁴ room in them.

First therefore, I say you cannot have a perfect

¹ "He had also fine seats in Tusculum, belvideres, and large open balconies for men's apartments, and porticos to walk in, where Pompey coming to see him, blamed him for making a house which would be pleasant in summer, but uninhabitable in winter; whom he answered with a smile: 'You think me, then, less provident than cranes and storks, not to change my home with the seasons.'" *Plutarch. Life of Lucullus. Plutarch's Lives of Illustrious Men. Translated from the Greek by John Dryden and Others.*

² The Vatican, on the Vatican hill, in Rome, is a vast palace which has been the chief residence of the Pope, since the popes returned from Avignon, in 1377. Besides the papal apartments and offices, it contains the Sistine Chapel and the Vatican library and art galleries.

³ The Escorial is a celebrated building situated twenty-seven miles northwest of Madrid, and containing a library, a monastery, a palace, a church, and a mausoleum for the Kings of Spain. It was built by Philip II., in 1563-1584.

⁴ *Fair. Beautiful.*

"If thou wouldst view fair Melrose aright,
Go visit it by the pale moonlight."

Scott. The Lay of the Last Minstrel. Canto II. 1.

palace, except you have two several¹ sides; a side for the banquet,² as is spoken of in the book of Hester,³ and a side for the household; the one for feasts and triumphs, and the other for dwelling. I understand both these sides to be not only returns,⁴ but parts of the front; and to be uniform without, though severally partitioned within; and to be on both sides of a great and stately tower in the midst of the front, that, as it were, joineth them together on either hand. I would have on the side of the banquet, in front, one only goodly room above stairs, of some forty foot⁵ high; and under it a room for a dressing or preparing place at times of triumphs. On the other side, which is the household side, I wish it divided at the first into a hall and a chapel, (with a partition between;) both of good state and bigness; and those not to go all the length, but to have at the further end a winter and a summer parlour, both fair. And under these rooms, a fair and large cellar sunk under ground; and likewise some privy kitchens, with butteries and pantries, and the like. As for the tower, I would have it two stories, of eighteen foot high a piece, above the two

¹ *Several. Separate; individual; not common to two or more.* "And the twelve gates were twelve pearls; every *several* gate was of one pearl: and the street of the city was pure gold, as it were transparent glass." *Revelation xxi. 21.*

² *Banquet. Banquet or dining hall.*

³ *Esther i, the feast of King Ahasuerus in Shushan the palace.*

⁴ *Return. In architecture, the continuation of a molding, projection, etc., in an opposite or different direction; also, a side or part that falls away from the front of any straight work. As a feature of a molding, it is usual at the termination of the drip-stone or hood of a window or door.*

⁵ *Forty foot high. Foot as a term of measure is often in the singular when preceded by numerals.*

wings; and a goodly leads¹ upon the top, railed with statua's interposed; and the same tower to be divided into rooms, as shall be thought fit. The stairs likewise to the upper rooms, let them be upon a fair open newel² and finely railed in with images of wood, cast into a brass colour; and a very fair landing-place at the top. But this to be, if you do not point³ any of the lower rooms for a dining place of servants. For otherwise you shall have the servants' dinner after your own: for the steam of it will come up as in a tunnel. And so much for the front. Only I understand the height of the first stairs to be sixteen foot, which is the height of the lower room.

Beyond this front is there to be a fair court,⁴ but three sides of it, of a far lower building than the front. And in all the four corners of that court fair staircases, cast into turrets, on the outside, and

¹ *Leads.* The sheets or strips of lead used to cover a roof. "If Fairford's journey had been hitherto in a stifled and subterranean atmosphere, it was now open, lofty, and airy enough; for he had to follow his guide over leads and slates, which the old smuggler traversed with the dexterity of a cat." Scott. *Red-gumtlet*. XIII.

² *Newel.* The newel of a winding stair is the upright pillar round which the steps turn, and by which they are supported from the bottom to the top. An 'open,' or hollow, 'newel' is the central or open space or well in a winding stair.

³ *Point.* To appoint.

"The souldier may not move from watchful sted,
Nor leave his stand, untill his capitaine bed.
Who life doth limit by almightie doome
(Quoth he) knowes best the termes established;
And he, that *points* the centonell his roome,
Doth license him depart at sound of morning droome."

Spenser. *The Faery Queene*. Book I. Canto ix. Stanza 41.

⁴ In his edition of the *Essays*, Mr. S. H. Reynolds suggests that the "fair court" Bacon describes may be the Great Court of Trinity College, Cambridge. The plan of the Great Court, "with a cross" and four grass plots, was the work of Thomas Nevile, Master of Trinity College from 1593 to 1615. Bacon took his M.A. degree at Cambridge July 27, 1594, and represented the University in Parliament in 1614.

not within the row of buildings themselves. But those towers are not to be of the height of the front, but rather proportionable to the lower building. Let the court not be paved, for that striketh up a great heat in summer, and much cold in winter. But only some side alleys, with a cross, and the quarters to graze, being kept shorn, but not too near shorn. The row of return on the banquet side, let it be all stately galleries: in which galleries let there be three, or five, fine cupolas in the length of it, placed at equal distance; and fine coloured windows of several works. On the household side, chambers of presence¹ and ordinary entertainments, with some bed-chambers; and let all three sides be a double house, without thorough lights on the sides, that you may have rooms from the sun, both for forenoon and afternoon. Cast² it also, that you may have rooms both for summer and winter; shady for summer, and warm for winter. You shall have sometimes fair houses so full of glass, that one cannot tell where to become³ to be out of the sun or cold. For inbowed⁴ windows, I hold them of good

¹ *Chamber of presence, or presence-chamber. The room in which a great personage receives company.*

² *Cast. To plan; to devise.*

"Therefore to cherish him with diets daint,
She cast to bring him, where he chearen might,
Till he recovered had his late decayed plight."

Spenser. The Faery Queene. Book I. Canto x. Stanza 2.

³ *Become. To come to a place, to arrive; passing, later, into to betake one's self, to go.*

"I cannot joy, until I be resolved
Where our right valiant father is become."

Shakspeare. III. King Henry VI. ii. 1.

⁴ *Inbowed. Embowed; a bow-window or bay-window is a window that 'bows' or projects outwards, on the ground floor, forming a kind of 'bay' within. Bacon probably refers here to oriel windows, which are bow-windows projecting from an upper story.*

use; (in cities, indeed, upright do better, in respect of the uniformity towards the street;) for they be pretty retiring places for conference; and besides, they keep both the wind and sun off; for that which would strike almost thorough the room doth scarce pass the window. But let them be but few, four in the court, on the sides only.

Beyond this court let there be an inward¹ court, of the same square and height; which is to be environed with the garden on all sides; and in the inside, cloistered on all sides, upon decent and beautiful arches, as high as the first story. On the under story, towards the garden, let it be turned to a grotta, or place of shade, or estivation.² And only have opening and windows towards the garden; and be level upon the floor, no whit sunken under ground, to avoid all dampishness. And let there be a fountain, or some fair work of statua's in the midst of this court; and to be paved as the other court was. These buildings to be for privy lodgings on both sides; and the end for privy galleries. Whereof you must foresee that one of them be for an infirmary, if the prince or any special person should be sick, with chambers, bed-chamber, antecamera,³ and recamera,⁴ joining to it. This upon the second story. Upon the ground story, a fair gallery, open, upon pillars; and upon the third story

¹ *Inward. Inner.* "For which cause we faint not; but though our outward man perish, yet the inward man is renewed day by day." II. Corinthians iv. 16.

² *Estivation, or aestivation.* The passing or spending of the summer; a summer retreat or residence.

³ *Antecamera. Antechamber.*

⁴ *Recamera. A back chamber; retiring-room.*

likewise, an open gallery, upon pillars, to take the prospect and freshness of the garden. At both corners of the further side, by way of return, let there be two delicate or rich cabinets, daintily paved, richly hanged, glazed with crystalline glass, and a rich cupola in the midst; and all other elegancy that may be thought upon. In the upper gallery too; I wish that there may be, if the place will yield it, some fountains running in divers places from the wall, with some fine avoidances.¹ And thus much for the model of the palace; save that you must have, before you come to the front, three courts. A green court plain, with a wall about it; a second court of the same, but more garnished, with little turrets, or rather embellishments, upon the wall; and a third court, to make a square with the front, but not to be built, nor yet enclosed with a naked wall, but enclosed with tarrasses, leaded ² aloft, and fairly garnished, on the three sides; and cloistered on the inside, with pillars, and not with arches below. As for offices, let them stand at distance, with some low galleries, to pass from them to the place itself.

¹ *Avoidances. Outlets.*

² *Leaded. Covered with lead.*

XLVI. OF GARDENS.

✓ GOD ALMIGHTY first planted a Garden. And indeed it is the purest of human pleasures. It is the greatest refreshment to the spirits of man;¹ without which buildings and palaces are but gross handy-works: and a man shall ever see that when ages grow to civility² and elegancy,³ men come to build stately sooner than to garden finely; as if gardening were the greater perfection. ✓ I do hold it, in the royal ordering of gardens, there ought to be gardens for all the months in the year; in which severally things⁴ of beauty may be then in season. For December, and January, and the latter part of November, you must take such things as are green all winter: holly; ivy; bays; juniper; cypress-trees; yew; pine-apple-trees; fir-trees; rosemary; lavender;⁵

"Friends, books, a garden, and perhaps his pen,
Delightful industry enjoy'd at home,
And Nature, in her cultivated trim
Dress'd to his taste, inviting him abroad—
Can he want occupation who has these?"

Cowper. The Task. Book III. The Garden.

² *Civility. Civilization.*

³ *Elegancy. Elegance.*

⁴ "A thing of beauty is a joy forever."

John Keats. Endymion. Line 1.

⁵ *Lavender.* One of the *Labiatae* or mints, *Lavandula Vera*, a small shrub with small pale lilac-colored flowers, and narrow oblong or lanceolate leaves. It is a native of the south of Europe and northern Africa, but is extensively cultivated in other countries for its perfume.

"Here 's flowers for you;
Hot lavender, mints, savory, marjoram;
The marigold, that goes to bed wi' th' sun
And with him rises weeping: these are flowers
Of middle summer."

Shakspeare. The Winter's Tale. iv. 3.

periwinkle, the white, the purple, and the blue; germander;¹ flags; orange-trees; lemon-trees; and myrtles, if they be stoved;² and sweet marjoram, warm set. There followeth, for the latter part of January and February, the mezereon-tree³ which then blossoms; crocus vernus, both the yellow and the grey; primroses; anemones; the early tulippa; hyacinthus orientalis;⁴ chamaïris;⁵ fritellaria.⁶ For March, there come violets, specially the single blue, which are the earliest; the yellow daffodil; the daisy; the almond-tree in blossom; the peach-tree in blossom; the cornelian-tree⁷ in blossom; sweet-briar. In April follow, the double white violet; the wall-flower; the stock-gilliflower;⁸ the

¹ *Germander*. A plant of the genus *Teucrium*, as *Teucrium Canadense*, American germander, or wood sage. Bacon probably means the *Teucrium Scorodonia*, or wood germander, which was cultivated in old English gardens. Its blossoms are yellowish-white, in terminal racemes.

² *Stove*. To keep warm in a house or room by artificial heat; as, to 'stove' orange trees.

³ *Mezereon-tree*. The *Mezereum* is a species of small erect or trailing shrubs of the order *Thymeleaceae*. The best known representative of the family in cultivation is *Daphne Mezereum*, a small shrub with sweet white flowers that bloom in December in green-houses.

⁴ *Hyacinthus orientalis*. The common hyacinth, which came originally from the Levant.

⁵ *Chamaïris*. There are but two irises native to England, and one of them is an aquatic plant. The other one, *Iris Foetidissima*, may be what is called here chamaïris; it is a blue iris. Possibly chamaïris is *Iris Reticulata*, one of the earliest irises cultivated in England. But the Elizabethans cultivated many varieties of iris.

⁶ *Fritellaria*. A genus of liliaceous plants, the best known species of which are the Crown Imperial (*Fritellaria Imperialis*), and the Common Fritellary or Snakeshead (*Fritellaria Meleagris*), England. The Crown Imperial is a native of Persia, and was introduced into the royal garden at Vienna about 1576. It is said to have arrived in England shortly afterwards. It was therefore a new flower to both Bacon and Shakspeare, and they could only have seen it in some choice garden.

⁷ *Cornelian-tree*. The cornel-tree, or cornelian cherry.

⁸ *Stock-gilliflower*. This is the White Stock (*Matthiola Incana*).

cowslip; flower-de-lices,¹ and lilies of all natures; rosemary-flowers; the tulippa; the double piony; the pale daffodil; the French honeysuckle; the cherry-tree in blossom; the dammasin² and plum-trees in blossom; the white thorn in leaf; the lilac-tree. In May and June come pinks of all sorts, specially the blush-pink; roses of all kinds, except the musk, which comes later; honeysuckles; strawberries; bugloss; columbine; the French marigold; flos Africanus;³ cherry-tree in

1

"Now, my fair'st friend,

I would I had some flowers o' the spring that might
 Become your time of day;—and yours, and yours,
 That wear upon your virgin branches yet
 Your maidenhoods growing:—O Proserpina,
 For th' flowers now, that, frightened, thou lett'st fall
 From Dis's wagon! golden *daffodils*,
 That come before the swallow dares, and take
 The winds of March with beauty; *violets* dim,
 But sweeter than the lids of Juno's eyes
 Or Cytherea's breath; pale *primroses*,
 That die unmarried, ere they can behold
 Bright Phoebus in his strength,—a malady
 Most incident to maids; bold oxlips and
 The crown-imperial; *lilies* of all kinds,
 The *flower-de-luce* being one!"

Shakspeare. *The Winter's Tale*. iv. 3.

Flower-de-lices. Since both Bacon and Shakspeare refer to the flower-de-luce as a lily, it is clear that for them the iris had not yet wholly appropriated the name. Their *fleur-de-lis* may have been the same as Chaucer's, the *Lilium Candidum*, the common white lily. "His nekke whit was as the *flour-de-lys*," Chaucer writes of the singing friar. *The Prologue*. 238.

² *Dammasin*. The damson plum-tree. The *damson* is a small black or dark purple plum, the fruit of *Prunus Communis*, or *Domestica*. The particular variety, *Damascena*, was introduced in very early times into Greece and Italy from Syria.

"*Gloster*. Mass, thou lovedst plums well, that wouldst venture so.

Simpcox. Alas, good master, my wife desired some *damsons*,
 And made me climb, with danger of my life."

Shakspeare. II. *King Henry VI*. ii. 1.

³ *Flos Africanus*. The Latin translation reads *Flos Africanus*, *simplex et multiplex*, and omits "the French marigold." It would seem then that by *Flos Africanus*, or 'African flower,' Bacon meant the African marigold (*Tagetes Erecta*); the French marigold is *Tagetes Patula*. Or possibly, the French marigold was called the

fruit; ribes;¹ figs in fruit; rasps;² vine-flowers; lavender in flowers; the sweet satyrian,³ with the white flowers; herba muscaria;⁴ lilium convallium;⁵ the apple-tree in blossom. In July come gilliflowers of all varieties; musk-roses; the lime-tree in blossom; early pears and plums in fruit; genittings,⁶ quadlins.⁷ In August come plums of all sorts in fruit; pears; apricocks;⁸

'African flower' in Bacon's time, and the modern punctuation is at fault. Shakspere's "marigold that goes to bed wi' th' sun" was a different flower, *Calendula Officinalis*, one of the *Compositae*. It is a common flower in country gardens, of a deep yellow color; the name, *Calendula*, means 'little calendar,' or 'little weather-glass,' referring to its opening with the sun and shutting with the dew.

¹ *Ribes*. Currants.

² *Rasps*. Raspberries.

³ *Satyrian*. *Satyria Hortensis*, or *Summer Savory*, a low and homely sweet herb, with pale or purplish flowers. Like lavender, sweet marjoram, and other aromatic herbs, it is used in English gardens in mass to fill a border. The border in an English garden needs to be filled, because it is not the mere edge of a flower-bed; it is a strip of ground, often several feet wide, forming a fringe to the general area within laid out in flower-plots, or otherwise, and separated from it by a path.

⁴ *Herba muscaria*. *Muscari Botryoides*, the *Grape-Hyacinth*, or *Globe-Hyacinth*, of the Lily family, a common little garden flower of early spring, with a dense raceme of dark blue flowers, like a minute cluster of grapes. It is now naturalized in the United States.

⁵ *Lilium convallium*. The convall lily, convally; lily of the valley.

⁶ *Jenneting*. *Genittings*. Apparently from the French *Jean* or *Jeannet*, in *pomme de Saint-Jean*, "S. John's apple, a kind of soone-ripe Sweeting." Cotgrave. A kind of early apple.

"Yet, tho' I spared thee all the spring,
Thy sole delight is, sitting still,
With that cold dagger of thy bill,
To fret the summer jenneting."

Tennyson. *The Blackbird*. Stanza 3.

⁷ *Quadlin*, or *Codling*, *codlin*. The *codling* is a variety of apple in shape elongated and rather tapering towards the eye, having several sub-varieties, as Kentish codling, Keswick codling. "As a squash is before 't is a peascod, or a *codling* when 't is almost an apple." Shakspere. *Twelfth Night*. i. 5.

⁸ *Apricocks*. The fruit of the apricot, *Prunus Armeniaca*, or Armenian Plum. It is roundish-oval in shape, orange-colored, and has a delicious flavor.

"Feed him with apricocks and dewberries,
With purple grapes, green figs, and mulberries."
Shakspere. *A Midsummer-Night's Dream*. iii. 1.

berberries;¹ filberds; musk-melons; monks-hoods,² of all colours. In September come grapes; apples; poppies of all colours; peaches; melocotones;³ nectarines;⁴ cornelians; warden;⁵ quinces. In October, and the beginning of November come services;⁶ medlars;⁷ bullaces;⁸ roses cut or removed to come late; holly-oaks;⁹ and such like. These

¹ *Barberry*. The *barberry* (*Berberis Vulgaris*), commonly spelled and pronounced 'barberry.' It is a shrub that is found native in Europe and North America, with spiny shoots, and pendulous racemes of small yellow flowers, succeeded by oblong, red, sharply acid berries.

² *Monk's-hood*. *Aconite*, of the *Ranunculaceae*, or Crowfoot family. In England monk's-hood is especially *Aconitum Napellus*, which is also called friar's-cap, fox-bane, helmet-flower, Jacob's chariot and wolf's-bane. Gray records two American aconites, *Aconitum Uncinatum*, or Wild Monk's-hood, with blue flowers, and *Aconitum Reclinatum*, or Trailing Wolf's-bane, with white flowers.

³ *Melocotone*. *Melocoton*, or *Melocotoon*, a large kind of peach. "A wife here with a strawberry breath, cherry lips, apricot cheeks, and a soft, velvet head, like a melicotton." Ben Jonson. *Bartholomew Fair*. i. 1.

⁴ *Nectarine*. A variety of the common peach, from which its fruit differs only in having a rind devoid of down, and a firmer pulp. Both fruits are sometimes found growing on the same tree.

⁵ *Wardens*. The *warden* is a large pear used chiefly for roasting or baking. Cotgrave defined this pear as "*poire de garde*, a warden, or winter peare, a peare which may be kept verie long."

"I must have saffron to colour the warden-pies."

Shakspeare. *The Winter's Tale*. iv. 2.

⁶ *Services*. The fruit of *Pyrus* (*Sorbus*) *Domestica*, a tree that belongs to continental Europe. It grows from twenty to sixty feet high, has leaves like those of the mountain ash or rowan tree, and bears a small pear-shaped or apple-shaped fruit, which, like the medlar, is pleasant only in an over-ripe condition.

⁷ *Medlars*. The fruit of the *medlar*, a small bushy tree, *Mespilus Germanica*, related to the crab-apple, cultivated in gardens for its fruit. The fruit resembles a small, brown-skinned apple, but with a broad disk at the summit surrounded by the remains of the calix lobes. When first gathered, it is harsh and uneatable, but in the early stages of decay it acquires an acid flavor relished by some.

⁸ *Bullaces*. The *wild plum* (*Prunus Insititia*), larger than the sloe, well known in England as a semi-cultivated fruit; there are two varieties, the black or dark blue, and the white. Like the persimmon, the bullace is astringent until frost comes.

⁹ *Holly-oaks*. *Hollyhocks* (*Althea Rosea*), the well-known garden flower widely cultivated in many varieties, with showy blossoms of various tints of red, purple, yellow, and white.

particulars are for the climate of London; but my meaning is perceived, that you may have *ver perpetuum*,¹ as the place affords.

And because the breath of flowers is far sweeter in the air (where it comes and goes like the warbling of music) than in the hand, therefore nothing is more fit for that delight, than to know what be the flowers and plants that do best perfume the air. Roses, damask and red, are fast² flowers of their smells; so that you may walk by a whole row of them, and find nothing of their sweetness; yea³ though it be in a morning's dew. Bays⁴ likewise yield no smell as they grow. Rosemary little; nor sweet marjoram.⁵ That which above all others yields the sweetest smell in the air, is the violet, specially the white double violet, which comes twice a year; about the middle of April, and about Bartholomew-tide.⁶ Next to that is the musk-rose.

¹ Perpetual spring.

² *Fast. Firm; tenacious.* "Watch ye, stand fast in the faith, quit you like men, be strong." *I. Corinthians xvi. 13.*

³ *Yea. Not this alone; not only so, but also; what is more.*

"Many of you, yea, most, return no more."

Tennyson. The Holy Grail.

⁴ *Bay*, also called *Sweet Bay*, the *Laurus Nobilis*, an arborescent shrub cultivated in English gardens, with deep green leaves and a profusion of dark purple berries. The leaves, when crushed or bruised give out the odor of cinnamon, and on this account, together with their beauty, they were used in olden times to garnish dishes for a banquet. The Bible refers to the very ancient superstition that the flourishing of the bay tree meant good, and its withering, evil.

"I have seen the wicked in great power, and spreading himself like a green bay tree.

"Yet he passed away, and, lo, he was not: yea, I sought him, but he could not be found." *Psalms xxxvii. 35 and 36.*

⁵ *Sweet marjoram.* A plant of the mint family, *Origanum Majorana*, peculiarly aromatic and fragrant, flowers purplish pink.

⁶ St. Bartholomew's day, August 24 O. S.

Then the strawberry-leaves dying, with a most excellent cordial smell. Then the flower of the vines; it is a little dust, like the dust of a bent, which grows upon the cluster in the first coming forth. Then sweet-briar. Then wall-flowers, which are very delightful to be set under a parlour or lower chamber window. Then pinks and gilliflowers,¹ specially the matted pink and clove gilliflower. Then the flowers of the lime-tree. Then the honey-suckles, so they be somewhat afar off. Of bean-flowers² I speak not, because they are field flowers. But those which perfume the air most delightfully, not passed by as the rest, but being trodden upon

¹ *Gilliflowers.* *Gillyflower* is a name that has been applied to various plants whose blossoms smell like the clove (Old French, *girofle*, or clove), and especially to the clove-scented pink, *Dianthus Caryophyllus*, or *Clove-gillyflower*. The clove-gillyflower is the original of the carnation and other double pinks in cultivation, and it is the gillyflower of Chaucer, Spenser, Shakspeare, and Bacon.

"The fair'st flowers o' the season
Are our carnations, and streak'd *gillyvors*."
Shakspeare. The Winter's Tale. iv. 3.

In those dialects in which the name gillyflower is still current, it is commonly applied, either to the Wall-flower (*Cheiranthus Cheiri*), or *Wall-Gillyflower*, or to the White Stock (*Matthiola Incana*), or *Stock-Gillyflower*. Bacon's garden contains all three, pinks, stocks, and wall-flowers. The wall-flower is a native of southern Europe, where its deep orange-yellow flowers light up old walls and cliffs. In cultivation, the flowers range in color from pale yellow to deep red, and are clustered in short racemes. Wall-flowers are "delightful to be set" under windows because of their sweet odor.

² *Bean-flower.* *Vicia Faba*, or *Faba Vulgaris*, a bean which has been cultivated in England for centuries as food for cattle, just as Indian corn is grown in the United States. In *A Midsummer-Night's Dream*, ii. 1, Shakspeare refers to "a fat and bean-fed horse."

"Long let us walk,
Where the breeze blows from yon extended field
Of blossomed beans. Arabia cannot boast
A fuller gale of joy, than, liberal, thence
Breathes through the sense, and takes the ravish'd soul."
James Thomson. The Seasons. Spring.

and crushed, are three; that is, burnet,¹ wild-thyme,² and watermints. Therefore you are to set whole alleys of them, to have the pleasure when you walk or tread.

For gardens (speaking of those which are indeed prince-like, as we have done of buildings), the contents ought not well to be under thirty acres of ground; and to be divided into three parts; a green in the entrance; a heath³ or desert in the going forth; and the main garden in the midst; besides alleys on both sides. And I like well that four acres of ground be assigned to the green; six to the heath; four and four to either⁴ side; and twelve to the main garden. The green hath two pleasures: the

¹*Burnet.* The popular name of plants belonging to the genera *Sanguisorba* and *Poterium*, of the *Rosaceae*, of which the *Great or Common Burnet* (*Sanguisorba Officinalis*) is common, in England, on the meadows, and the *Lesser or Salad Burnet* (*Poterium Sanguisorba*) on the chalk. The Salad Burnet received its generic name from the fact that its leaves, which taste somewhat like cucumber, were formerly dropped into goblets of wine to flavor it before drinking.

"That even mead, that erst brought sweetly forth
The freckled cowslip, burnet, and green clover,
Wanting the scythe, all uncorrected, rank,
Conceives by idleness, and nothing teems
But hateful docks, rough thistles, kecksies, burs,
Losing both beauty and utility."

Shakspeare. King Henry V. v. 1.

²*Wild-thyme.* *Thymus Serpyllum*, *Creeping Thyme*, an inconspicuous plant, of the mint family, with flat green leaves and whitish or purplish flowers crowded at the ends of the branches, leaves and flowers both small. It is found growing in tufts on sunny hedgebanks, or in old fields.

"I know a bank where the wild thyme blows,
Where oxlips and the nodding violet grows;
Quite over-canopied with lush woodbine,
With sweet musk-roses, and with eglantine."

Shakspeare. A Midsummer-Night's Dream. ii. 1.

³*Heath.* A part of a garden left more or less in a wild state; now called a 'wilderness.'

⁴*Either. Each.*

one, because nothing is more pleasant to the eye than green grass kept finely shorn; the other, because it will give you a fair alley in the midst, by which you may go in front upon a stately hedge, which is to enclose the garden. But because the alley will be long, and, in great heat of the year or day, you ought not to buy the shade in the garden by going in the sun thorough the green, therefore you are, of either side the green, to plant a covert¹ alley, upon carpenter's work, about twelve foot in height, by which you may go in shade into the garden. As for the making of knots² or figures with divers coloured earths, that they may lie under the windows of the house on that side which the garden stands, they be but toys: you may see as good sights many times in tarts. The garden is best to be square, encompassed on all the four sides with a stately arched hedge. The arches to be upon pillars of carpenter's work, of some ten foot high, and six foot broad; and the spaces between of the same dimension with the breadth of the arch. Over the arches let there be an entire hedge of some four foot high, framed also upon carpenter's work; and upon the upper hedge, over every arch, a little turret, with a belly, enough to receive a cage of birds: and over every space between the arches some other little figure, with broad plates of round coloured glass gilt, for the sun to play upon. But this hedge

¹ Covert. Covered.

² Knot. A flower-bed laid out in a fanciful or intricate design; also, more generally, any laid-out garden plot; a flower-knot. "I must see what progress has been made with my rustic bridge—whether my terrace-walk has yet been begun—how speeds my bower—if my flower-knots are arranging according to rule." Susan Edmonstone Ferrier. *The Inheritance*. LXIX.

I intend to be raised upon a bank, not steep, but gently slope,¹ of some six foot, set all with flowers. Also I understand, that this square of the garden should not be the whole breadth of the ground, but to leave on either side ground enough for diversity of side alleys; unto which the two covert alleys of the green may deliver you. But there must be no alleys with hedges at either end of this great enclosure; not at the hither end, for letting your prospect upon this fair hedge from the green; nor at the further end, for letting² your prospect from the hedge through the arches upon the heath.

For the ordering of the ground within the great hedge, I leave it to variety of device; advising nevertheless that whatsoever form you cast it into, first, it be not too busy,³ or full of work. Wherein I, for

¹ *Slope. Sloping.*

² *Let. To hinder; to prevent.*

"No spears were there the shock to let."

Scott. The Lord of the Isles. VI. xxiii.

³ *Busy.* Bacon goes on to define the old meaning of *busy* here, "full of work," elaborate, such as "images cut out in juniper or other garden stuff." It is more than likely that Bacon had in mind his father's gardens at Gorhambury. Edmund Lodge, in his *Portraits of Illustrious Personages of Great Britain, Vol. II.*, says of Sir Nicholas Bacon,—"He built a mansion on his estate of Redgrave, and another at Gorhambury, near St. Albans, to which last he added gardens of great extent, in the contrivance and decoration of which every feature of the bad taste of the time was abundantly lavished." Topiary work, or the clipping of trees, especially the juniper pine, into regular or fantastic shapes, was much practised by the old gardeners. Trees were cut into figures representing men, hats, umbrellas, jugs, bottles, candles, birds, mortars, corkscrews, and the like. H. Inigo Triggs, in his *Formal Gardens in England and Scotland (1902)*, illustrates by some fine plates some of this old topiary work as it is still to be seen at Levens Hall, Westmorland, at Heslington Hall, Yorkshire, at Balcarres Castle, Fifeshire, and elsewhere.

"I was led to a pretty garden, planted with edges of Alaternus, having at the entrance a skreene at an exceeding height, accurately cut in topiary worke, with well understood Architecture, consisting of pillars, niches, freezes, and other ornaments, with greate curiosity; some of the columns wreathed, others spiral, all according to art." *John Evelyn. Diary. 25 March, 1644, written in Caen, France.*

my part, do not like images cut out in juniper or other garden stuff; they be for children. Little low hedges, round, like welts,¹ with some pretty pyramides, I like well; and in some places, fair columns upon frames of carpenter's work. I would also have the alleys spacious and fair. You may have closer alleys upon the side grounds, but none in the main garden. I wish also, in the very middle, a fair mount, with three ascents, and alleys, enough for four to walk abreast; which I would have to be perfect circles, without any bulwarks or embossments;² and the whole mount to be thirty foot high; and some fine banqueting-house, with some chimneys neatly cast, and without too much glass.

For fountains they are a great beauty and refreshment; but pools mar all, and make the garden unwholesome, and full of flies and frogs. Fountains I intend to be of two natures: the one that sprinkleth or spouteth water; the other a fair receipt of water, of some thirty or forty foot square, but without fish, or slime, or mud. For the first, the ornaments of images gilt, or marble, which are in use, do well: but the main matter is so to convey the water, as it never stay, either in the bowls or in the cistern; that the water be never by rest discoloured, green or red or the like; or gather any mossiness or putrefaction. Besides that, it is to be cleansed every day by the hand. Also some steps

¹ *Welt.* A border, or fringe. "Clap but a civil gown with a welt on the one, and a canonical cloke with sleeves on the other, and give them a few terms in their mouths, and if there comes not forth as able a doctor and complete a parson, for this turn, as may be wish'd, trust not my election." *Ben Jonson. Epicoene; or, The Silent Woman.* iv. 2.

² *Embossment.* A bulging, or protuberance.

up to it, and some fine pavement about it, doth well. As for the other kind of fountain, which we may call a bathing pool, it may admit much curiosity¹ and beauty; wherewith we will not trouble ourselves: as, that the bottom be finely paved, and with images; the side likewise; and withal embellished with coloured glass, and such things of lustre; encompassed also with fine rails of low statua's. But the main point is the same which we mentioned in the former kind of fountain; which is, that the water be in perpetual motion, fed by a water higher then the pool, and delivered into it by fair spouts, and then discharged away under ground, by some equality of bores, that it stay little. And for fine devices, of arching water without spilling, and making it rise in several forms (of feathers, drinking glasses, canopies, and the like), they be pretty things to look on, but nothing to health and sweetness.

For the heath, which was the third part of our plot, I wish it to be framed, as much as may be, to a natural wildness. Trees I would have none in it, but some thickets made only of sweet-briar and honeysuckle, and some wild vine amongst; and the ground set with violets, strawberries, and primroses. For these are sweet, and prosper in the shade. And these to be in the heath, here and there, not in any order. I like also little heaps, in the nature of mole-hills (such as are in wild heaths), to be set, some with wild thyme; some with pinks; some with germander, that gives a good flower to the eye; some with

¹ *Curiosity. Careful or elaborate workmanship; elegance.*

periwinkle; some with violets; some with strawberries; some with cowslips; some with daisies; some with red roses; some with *lilium convallium*; some with sweet-williams red; some with bear's-foot:¹ and the like low flowers, being withal sweet and sightly. Part of which heaps are to be with standards of little bushes pricked upon their top, and part without. The standards to be roses; juniper; holly; berberries; (but here and there, because of the smell of their blossom;) red currants; gooseberry; rosemary;² bays; sweet-briar; and such like. But these standards to be kept with cutting, that they grow not out of course.

For the side grounds, you are to fill them with variety of alleys, private, to give a full shade, some of them, wheresoever the sun be. You are to frame some of them likewise for shelter, that when the wind blows sharp, you may walk as in a gallery. And those alleys must be likewise hedged at both ends, to keep out the wind; and these closer alleys must be ever finely gravelled, and no grass, because of going³ wet. In many of these alleys likewise, you

¹ *Bear's-foot*. The popular name of various species of *Hellebore*; especially of the *Black Hellebore* (*Helleborus Foetidus*, *Ranunculaceae*, or Crowfoot family); it is a beautiful plant with spreading panicles of globular flowers, whose sepals are green edged with pink.

"The late narcissus, and the winding trail
Of bear's-foot, myrtles green, and ivy pale."

Dryden. Georgics. Book IV. 184-185.

² *Rosemary*. An evergreen shrub, *Rosmarinus Officinalis*, which is a native of southern Europe. The ancients associated the plant with the spray of the sea, whence the name *ros marinus*, literally 'sea-dew.' It has a beautiful azure-blue flower, and a most fragrant smell.

"There 's rosemary, that 's for remembrance."

Shakspeare. Hamlet. iv. 2.

³ *Go. To tend to; conduce.*

are to set fruit-trees of all sorts; as well upon the walls as in ranges. And this would be generally observed, that the borders wherein you plant your fruit-trees be fair and large, and low, and not steep; and set with fine flowers, but thin and sparingly, lest they deceive¹ the trees. At the end of both the side grounds, I would have a mount of some pretty height, leaving the wall of the enclosure breast high, to look abroad into the fields.

For the main garden, I do not deny but there should be some fair alleys ranged on both sides, with fruit-trees; and some pretty tufts of fruit-trees, and arbours with seats, set in some decent order; but these to be by no means set too thick; but to leave the main garden so as it be not close, but the air open and free. For as for shade, I would have you rest upon the alleys of the side grounds, there to walk, if you be disposed, in the heat of the year or day; but to make account that the main garden is for the more temperate parts of the year; and in the heat of summer, for the morning and the evening, or overcast days.

For aviaries, I like them not, except they be of that largeness as they may be turfed, and have living plants and bushes set in them; that the birds may have more scope, and natural nestling, and that no foulness appear in the floor of the aviary. So I

¹ *Deceive. To cheat; defraud.* "Wheresoever one plant draweth such a particular juice out of the earth, as it qualifieth the earth, so as that juice which remaineth is fit for the other plant; there the neighbourhood doth good; because the nourishments are contrary or several; but where two plants draw much the same juice, there the neighbourhood hurteth; for the one *deceiveth* the other." *Bacon. Sylva Sylvarum. Century V. 479.*

have made a platform of a princely garden, partly by precept, partly by drawing, not a model, but some general lines of it; and in this I have spared for no cost. But it is nothing for great princes, that for the most part taking advice with workmen, with no less cost set their things together; and sometimes add statua's, and such things, for state and magnificence, but nothing to the true pleasure of a garden.

XLVII. OF NEGOCIATING.

It is generally better to deal by speech than by letter; and by the mediation of a third than by a man's self. Letters are good, when a man would draw an answer by letter back again; or when it may serve for a man's justification afterwards to produce his own letter; or where it may be danger to be interrupted, or heard by pieces. To deal in person is good, when a man's face breedeth regard, as commonly with inferiors; or in tender cases, where a man's eye upon the countenance of him with whom he speaketh may give him a direction how far to go; and generally where a man will reserve to himself liberty either to disavow or to expound. In choice of instruments, it is better to choose men of a plainer sort, that are like to do that that is committed to them, and to report back again faithfully the success, than those that are cunning to contrive out of other men's business somewhat to grace themselves, and will help the matter in report

for satisfaction sake. Use also such persons as affect the business wherein they are employed; for that quickeneth much; and such as are fit for the matter; as bold men for expostulation, fair-spoken men for persuasion, crafty men for inquiry and observation, froward¹ and absurd men for business that doth not well bear out² itself. Use also such as have been lucky, and prevailed before in things wherein you have employed them; for that breeds confidence, and they will strive to maintain their prescription.³ It is better to sound a person with whom one deals afar off, than to fall upon the point at first; except you mean to surprise him by some short question. It is better dealing with men in appetite,⁴ than with those that are where they would be. If a man deal with another upon conditions, the start or first performance is all; which a man cannot reasonably demand, except either the nature of the thing be such, which must go before; or else a man can persuade the other party that he shall still need him in some other thing; or else that he be counted the honestest man. All practice⁵ is to discover, or to work. Men discover themselves in trust, in passion, at unawares, and of necessity, when they would have somewhat done and cannot find an apt pretext. If you would work⁶ any man,

¹ *Froward.* Difficult to deal with; refractory; ungovernable; perverse. "Russell had always been froward, arrogant, mutinous." Macaulay. *History of England*. Vol. IV. Chapter xix. 233 (1867).

² *To bear out.* To justify; to establish.

³ *Prescription.* Custom continued until it has the force of law; a right acquired by long or immemorial use.

⁴ *Appetite.* Inclination; desire.

⁵ *Practice.* Negotiation.

⁶ *Work.* To manage; handle.

you must either know his nature and fashion,¹ and so lead him; or his ends, and so persuade him; or his weakness and disadvantages, and so awe him; or those that have interest in him and so govern him. In dealing with cunning persons, we must ever consider their ends, to interpret their speeches; and it is good to say little to them, and that which they least look for. In all negociations of difficulty, a man may not look to sow and reap at once; but must prepare business, and so ripen it by degrees.

XLVIII. OF FOLLOWERS AND FRIENDS.

COSTLY followers are not to be liked; lest while a man maketh his train longer, he make his wings shorter. I reckon to be costly, not them alone which charge the purse, but which are wearisome and importune² in suits. Ordinary followers ought to challenge no higher conditions than countenance, recommendation, and protection from wrongs. Factionous followers are worse to be liked, which follow not upon³ affection to him with whom they range themselves, but upon discontentment⁴ conceived against some other; whereupon commonly

¹ *Fashion.* Way; habit; manner.

"Let 's do it after the high Roman fashion."

Shakspeare. Antony and Cleopatra. iv. 15.

² *Importune.* Importunate.

³ *Upon.* In consequence of; from.

⁴ *Discontentment.* Discontent.

ensueth that ill intelligence¹ that we many times see between great personages. Likewise glorious² followers, who make themselves as trumpets of the commendation of those they follow, are full of inconvenience; for they taint business through want of secrecy; and they export honour from a man, and make him a return in envy. There is a kind of followers likewise which are dangerous, being indeed espials; which inquire the secrets of the house, and bear tales of them to others. Yet such men, many times, are in great favour; for they are officious,³ and commonly exchange tales. The following by certain estates⁴ of men, answerable to that which a great person himself professeth, (as of soldiers to him that hath been employed in the wars, and the like,) hath ever been a thing civil,⁵ and well taken even in monarchies; so it be without too much pomp or popularity.⁶ But the most honorable kind of following is to be followed as one that apprehendeth⁷ to advance virtue and desert in all sorts of persons. And yet, where there is no eminent odds in sufficiency, it is better to take with the more passable, than with the more able. And besides, to speak truth, in base times active

¹ *Intelligence.* A relation or footing between persons or parties; a good (or other) understanding 'between' or 'with.'

² *Glorious.* Boastful; vainglorious.

³ *Officious.* Active or zealous in doing one's duty; dutiful; useful.

"Come, come, be every one officious
To make this banquet."

Shakspeare. Titus Andronicus. v. 2.

⁴ *Estates of men.* Order of men.

⁵ *Civil.* Decorous; proper.

⁶ *Popularity.* Active in sense, a desire to obtain favor with the people.

⁷ *Apprehend.* To anticipate; to expect.

men are of more use than virtuous. It is true that in government it is good to use men of one rank equally: for to countenance some extraordinarily, is to make them insolent, and the rest discontent;¹ because they may claim a due. But contrariwise, in favour, to use men with much difference² and election is good; for it maketh the persons preferred more thankful, and the rest more officious: because all is of favour. It is good discretion not to make too much of any man at the first; because one cannot hold out that proportion. To be governed (as we call it) by one, is not safe; for it shews softness,³ and gives a freedom to scandal and disreputation;⁴ for those that would not censure or speak ill of a man immediately, will talk more boldly of those that are so great with them, and thereby wound their honour. Yet to be distracted with many is worse; for it makes men to be of the last impression, and full of change. To take advice of some few friends is ever honourable; *for lookers-on many times see more than gamesters; and the vale best discovereth the hill.* There is little friendship in the world, and least of all between equals, which was wont to be magnified. That that is, is between superior and inferior, whose fortunes may comprehend the one the other.

¹ *Discontent. Discontented.*

² *Difference. Distinction.*

³ *Softness. Weakness.* "A satire against the *softness* of prosperity." *Shakspeare. Timon of Athens. v. 1.*

⁴ *Disreputation. Disrepute.*

XLIX. OF SUITORS.

MANY ill matters and projects are undertaken; and private suits do putrefy the public good. Many good matters are undertaken with bad minds; I mean not only corrupt minds, but crafty minds, that intend not performance. Some embrace suits, which never mean to deal effectually in them; but if they see there may be life in the matter by some other mean,¹ they will be content to win a thank,² or take a second³ reward, or at least to make use in the mean time of the suitor's hopes. Some take hold of suits only for an occasion to cross some other; or to make an information⁴ whereof they could not otherwise have apt pretext; without care what become of the suit when that turn is served; or, generally, to make other men's business a kind of entertainment⁵ to bring in their own. Nay some undertake suits, with a full purpose to let them fall; to the end to gratify the adverse party or competitor. Surely there is in some sort a right in every suit; either a right in equity, if it be a suit of controversy; or a right of desert, if it be a suit of petition. If

¹ *Mean. Means.*

² *Thank. Expression of gratitude.* Now plural. "For if ye love them which love you, what thank have ye? For sinners also love those that love them." *Luke vi. 32.*

³ *Second. Secondary; inferior.*

⁴ *To make an information. To inform one's self.*

⁵ *Entertainment. A preliminary occupation; spending (of time).* "Sir Nathaniel, as concerning some entertainment of time, some show in the posterior of this day, to be render'd by our assistance, at the King's command, and this most gallant, illustrate, and learned gentleman, before the Princess,—I say none so fit to present as the Nine Worthies." *Shakspeare. Love's Labour's Lost. v. 1.*

affection lead a man to favour the less worthy in desert, let him do it without depraving¹ or disabling the better deserver. In suits which a man doth not well understand, it is good to refer² them to some friend of trust and judgment, that may report whether he may deal in them with honour: but let him choose well his referendaries,³ for else he may be led by the nose. Suitors are so distasted⁴ with delays and abuses,⁵ that plain dealing in denying to deal in suits at first, and reporting the success barely, and in challenging no more thanks than one hath deserved, is grown not only honourable but also gracious. In suits of favour, the first coming ought to take little place:⁶ so far forth⁷ consideration may be had of his trust, that if intelligence of the matter could not otherwise have been had but by him, advantage be not taken of the note,⁸ but the party left to his other means; and in some

¹ *Deprave.* To defame; decry; disparage. So, Italian "*depravare*, to backbite." Florio.

"Unjustly thou *deprav'st* it with the name
Of servitude to serve whom God ordains,
Or Nature."

Milton. *Paradise Lost*. VI. 174-176.

² *Refer.* To apply or appeal to.

³ *Referendary.* One to whose decision anything is referred; a referee.

⁴ *Distaste.* To be displeased, or offended.

⁵ *Abuse.* Deception; imposture; delusion.

"What should this mean? Are all the rest come back?
Or is it some abuse, and no such thing?"

Shakspeare. *Hamlet*. iv. 4.

⁶ *To take place.* To take effect; to avail.

⁷ *So far forth.* To the specified extent and no more.

⁸ *Note.* Notice; information; knowledge.

"Sir, I do know you;
And dare, upon the warrant of my note,
Commend a dear thing to you."

Shakspeare. *King Lear*. iii. 1.

sort recompensed for his discovery. To be ignorant of the value of a suit is simplicity; as well as to be ignorant of the right thereof is want of conscience. Secrecy in suits is a great mean of obtaining; for voicing¹ them to be in forwardness may discourage some kind of suitors, but doth quicken and awake others. But timing of the suit is the principal. Timing, I say, not only in respect of the person that should grant it, but in respect of those which are like to cross it. Let a man, in the choice of his mean,² rather choose the fittest mean than the greatest mean; and rather them that deal in certain things, than those that are general. The reparation of a denial is sometimes equal to the first grant; if a man shew himself neither dejected nor discontented. *Iniquum petas ut æquum feras*,³ is a good rule, where a man hath strength of favour: but otherwise a man were better rise in his suit; for he that would have ventured at first to have lost the suitor, will not in the conclusion lose⁴ both the suitor and his own former favour. Nothing is thought so easy a request to a great person, as his letter; and yet, if it be not in a good cause, it is so much out of his

¹ Voice. To announce; proclaim; report.

² Mean. Agent; instrument. Rare in the singular.

'Follow me, soldiers: we 'll devise a mean
To reconcile you all unto the King.'

Shakspeare. II. King Henry VI. iv. 8.

³ Ask what is unreasonable, that you may get what is equitable. "*Nec omnino sine ratione est, quod vulgo dicitur, Iniquum petendum, ut æquum feras.*" *M. Fabii Quintiliani de Institutione Oratoria Liber IV. v. 16.*

⁴ Lose. To ruin; to destroy.

"What to ourselves in passion we propose,
The passion ending, doth the purpose lose."

Shakspeare. Hamlet. iii. 2.

reputation. There are no worse instruments than these general contrivers of suits; for they are but a kind of poison and infection to public proceedings.

L. OF STUDIES.

STUDIES serve for delight, for ornament, and for ability. Their chief use for delight, is in privateness and retiring; for ornament, is in discourse; and for ability, is in the judgment and disposition of business. For expert men can execute, and perhaps judge of particulars, one by one; but the general counsels, and the plots and marshalling of affairs, come best from those that are learned. To spend too much time in studies is sloth; to use them too much for ornament, is affectation; to make¹ judgment wholly by their rules, is the humour of a scholar. They perfect nature, and are perfected by experience: for natural abilities are like natural plants, that need proyning² by study; and studies themselves do give forth directions too much at large, except they be bounded in by experience. Crafty men contemn studies, simple men admire them, and wise men use them; for they teach not their own use; but that is a wisdom without them, and above them, won by observation. Read not to

¹ *Make.* Of a court, a judge. To render, give (a decision, judgment). The *New English Dictionary*, on the authority of Sir Frederick Pollock, says, "Now unusual in England; still common in America."

² *Proyning*, old spelling of *pruning*.

contradict and confute; nor to believe and take for granted; nor to find talk and discourse; but to weigh and consider. Some books are to be tasted, others to be swallowed, and some few to be chewed and digested; that is, some books are to be read only in parts; others to be read, but not curiously;¹ and some few to be read wholly, and with diligence and attention. Some books also may be read by deputy, and extracts made of them by others; but that would² be only in the less important arguments, and the meaner sort of books; else distilled books are like common distilled waters, flashy³ things. Reading maketh a full man; conference a ready man; and writing an exact man. And therefore, if a man write little, he had need have a great memory; if he confer little, he had need have a present wit: and if he read little, he had need have much cunning, to seem to know that⁴ he doth not. Histories make men wise; poets witty; the mathematics subtle; natural philosophy deep; moral grave; logic and rhetoric able to contend. *Abeunt studia in mores.*⁵ Nay there is no stond⁶ or impediment in the wit, but may be wrought⁷ out by fit studies:

¹ Curiously. Attentively.

² Would, for should.

³ Flashy. Insipid; tasteless.

⁴ That. What, that which.

⁵ Studies develop into manners.

Sive abeunt studia in mores, artesque magistrae.

P. Ovidii Nasonis Heroides. Epistola XV. 83. Sappho Phaoni.

Note this thought and Bacon's own translation of it: "*Abeunt studia in mores*, studies have an influence and operation upon the manners of those conversant in them." *Advancement of Learning*, I. iii. 4.

⁶ Stond. Hindrance.

⁷ Wrought. Worked. "What hath God wrought," the first telegram, was sent by Samuel Finley Breese Morse, inventor of the telegraph, from the rooms of the United States Supreme Court, in Washington, to Baltimore, May 24, 1844.

like as diseases of the body may have appropriate exercises. Bowling is good for the stone and reins; ¹ shooting for the lungs and breast; gentle walking for the stomach; riding for head; and the like. So if a man's wit be wandering, let him study the mathematics; for in demonstrations, if his wit be called away never so little, he must begin again. If his wit be not apt to distinguish or find differences, let him study the schoolmen; for they are *cymini sectores*.² If he be not apt to beat³ over matters, and to call up one thing to prove and illustrate another, let him study the lawyers' cases. So every defect of the mind may have a special receipt.

LI. OF FACTION.

MANY have an opinion not wise, that for a prince to govern his estate,⁴ or for a great person to govern his proceedings, according to the respect of factions, is a principal part of policy; whereas contrari-

¹ *Reins. Kidneys.*

² *Splitters of cumin*, that is, *hair-splitters*. Cumin is an oriental plant with small, aromatic seed. "Antoninus Pius, who succeeded him, was a prince excellently learned, and had the patient and subtle wit of a schoolman; in so much as in common speech (which leaves no virtue untaxed) he was called *Cymini Sector*, a carver or divider of cummin seed, which is one of the least seeds; such a patience he had and settled spirit, to enter into the least and the most exact differences of causes; a fruit no doubt of the exceeding tranquillity and serenity of his mind; which being no ways charged or incumbered, either with fears, remorse, or scruples, but having been noted for a man of the purest goodness, without all fiction or affectation, that hath reigned or lived, made his mind continually present and entire." *Advancement of Learning*, I. vii. 7.

³ *To beat over. To beat out, to get to the bottom of.*

⁴ *Estate. State.*

wise,¹ the chiefest wisdom is either in ordering those things which are general, and wherein men of several factions do nevertheless agree; or in dealing with correspondence to particular persons, one by one. But I say not that the consideration of factions is to be neglected. Mean men, in their rising, must adhere; but great men, that have strength in themselves, were better to maintain themselves indifferent and neutral. Yet even in beginners, to adhere so moderately, as he be a man of the one faction which is most passable² with the other, commonly giveth best way. The lower and weaker faction is the firmer in conjunction; and it is often seen that a few that are stiff do tire out a greater number that are more moderate. When one of the factions is extinguished, the remaining subdivideth; as the faction between Lucullus and the rest of the nobles of the senate (which they called *Optimates*)³ held out awhile against the faction of Pompey and Cæsar; but when the senate's authority was pulled down, Cæsar and Pompey soon after brake. The faction or party of Antonius and Octavianus Cæsar against Brutus and Cassius,⁴ held out likewise for a time; but when Brutus and Cassius were overthrown, then soon after Antonius and Octavianus brake and subdivided. These examples are of wars,

¹ *Contrariwise. On the contrary.*

² *Passable. That may be passed; receivable; acceptable.*

³ *Optimates.* The adherents of 'the best' men, that is, in the Roman political sense, the aristocratic party, the aristocrats, in opposition to *populares*, the popular party.

⁴ Caius Cassius Longinus, died near Philippi, Macedonia, 42 B.C., Roman general and politician. He was the leading conspirator against Caesar in 44 B.C., and was defeated, with Brutus, by Pompey at Philippi.

but the same holdeth in private factions. And therefore those that are seconds in factions do many times, when the faction subdivideth, prove principals; but many times also they prove cyphers and cashiered;¹ for many a man's strength is in opposition; and when that faileth he groweth out of use. It is commonly seen that men once placed take in with the contrary faction to that by which they enter: thinking belike² that they have the first sure, and now are ready for a new purchase. The traitor in faction lightly goeth away with it; for when matters have stuck long in balancing, the winning of some one man casteth them, and he getteth all the thanks. The even carriage between two factions proceedeth not always of moderation, but of a true-ness to a man's self, with end to make use of both. Certainly in Italy they hold it a little suspect³ in popes, when they have often in their mouth *Padre commune*:⁴ and take it to be a sign of one that meaneth to refer all to the greatness of his own house. Kings had need beware how they side⁵ themselves, and make themselves as of a faction or party; for leagues within the state are ever pernicious to monarchies: for they raise an obligation

¹ *Cashiered.* To be 'cashiered,' discarded, deposed, that is, of no account, "cyphers."

² *Belike.* 'By what is likely,' that is, not unlikely; possibly.

"Things that I know not of *belike* to thee are dear."

Wordsworth. *The Pet Lamb.* Line 51.

³ *Suspect.* *Suspicious.*

"Suspicious was the diffame of this man,
Suspect his face, suspect his word also."

Chaucer. *The Clerk's Tale.* ll. 540-541.

⁴ Common Father.

⁵ *Side.* To take or choose a side.

paramount to obligation of sovereignty, and make the king *tanquam unus ex nobis* ;¹ as was to be seen in the League² of France. When factions are carried too high and too violently, it is a sign of weakness in princes ; and much to the prejudice both of their authority and business. The motions of factions under kings ought to be like the motions (as the astronomers speak) of the inferior orbs, which may have their proper motions, but yet still are quietly carried by the higher motion of *primum mobile*.

LII. OF CEREMONIES AND RESPECTS.³

HE that is only real, had need have exceeding great parts of virtue ; as the stone had need to be rich that is set without foil.⁴ But if a man mark it well, it is in praise and commendation of men as it is in gettings and gains : for the proverb is true, *That light gains make heavy purses* ; for light gains come thick, whereas great come but now and then. So it

¹ As one of us.

² The Holy League was formed by the Roman Catholic interests in 1576 under the leadership of Henry, Duke of Guise. Henry III. of France weakly joined the League which directed its main efforts towards preventing the succession of Henry of Navarre, his heir, and a Protestant. The Duke of Guise became so powerful as to set up pretensions to the throne. Henry III. fled from Paris, and ultimately entered into an alliance with Henry of Navarre and the Huguenots. King in name only, he took the part of a pawn in the great game Henry of Guise and Henry of Navarre were playing.

³ *Respects. Deferential good wishes ; complimentary regards.*

⁴ *Foil. A piece of gold or silver leaf set behind a gem to give it color or lustre.*

is true that small matters win great commendation, because they are continually in use and in note : whereas the occasion of any great virtue cometh but on festivals. Therefore it doth much add to a man's reputation, and is (as queen Isabella¹ said) *like perpetual letters commendatory*, to have good forms. To attain them it almost sufficeth not to despise them ; for so shall a man observe them in others ; and let him trust himself with the rest. For if he labour too much to express them, he shall lose their grace ; which is to be natural and unaffected. Some men's behaviour is like a verse, wherein every syllable is measured ; how can a man comprehend great matters, that breaketh his mind too much to small observations ?² Not to use ceremonies at all, is to teach others not to use them again ; and so diminisheth respect to himself ; especially they be not to be omitted to strangers and formal natures ; but the dwelling upon them, and exalting them above the moon, is not only tedious, but doth diminish the faith and credit of him that speaks. And certainly there is a kind of conveying of effectual and imprinting³ passages amongst compliments, which is of singular use, if a man can hit upon it. Amongst a man's peers a man shall be sure of familiarity ; and there-

¹ Isabella I., the Catholic, 1451–1504, daughter and heiress of Juan II. of Castile, and queen of Ferdinand V. (II. of Aragon and III. of Naples). Isabella's enduring title to fame is that she believed in Columbus, and equipped the three little ships, the Santa Maria, the Niña, and the Pinta, with which he set forth from Palos, August 3, 1492, to discover America. "Queen Isabell of Spain used to say: *Whosoever hath a good presence and a good fashion, carries letters of recommendation.*" Bacon. *Apophthegmes New and Old*. 99 (74).

² *Observations. Observances.*

³ *Imprinting. That imprints or impresses something on the mind ; impressive.*

fore it is good a little to keep state. Amongst a man's inferiors one shall be sure of reverence; and therefore it is good a little to be familiar. He that is too much in anything, so that he giveth another occasion of satiety, maketh himself cheap. To apply one's self to others is good; so it be with demonstration that a man doth it upon regard, and not upon facility. It is a good precept generally in seconding another, yet to add somewhat of one's own: as if you will grant his opinion, let it be with some distinction; if you will follow his motion, let it be with condition; if you allow his counsel, let it be with alleging further reason. Men had need beware how they be too perfect in compliments; for be they never so sufficient¹ otherwise, their enviers will be sure to give them that attribute, to the disadvantage of their greater virtues. It is loss also in business to be too full of respects, or to be curious² in observing times and opportunities. Salomon saith, *He that considereth the wind shall not sow, and he that looketh to the clouds shall not reap.*³ A wise man will make more opportunities than he finds. Men's behaviour should be like their apparel, not too strait or point device,⁴ but free for exercise or motion.⁵

¹ *Sufficient.* Capable; qualified; competent; fit.

"You 'll never meet a more sufficient man."

Shakspeare. *Othello.* iii. 4.

² *Curious.* Minutely accurate; exact; precise.

³ *Ecclesiastes* xi. 4.

⁴ *Point-device.* Precise; nice; scrupulously neat; finical. "Then your hose should be ungarter'd, your bonnet unbanded, your sleeve unbutton'd, your shoe untied, and everything about you demonstrating a careless desolation. But you are no such man: you are rather point-device in your accoutrements." Shakspeare. *As You Like It.* iii. 2.

⁵ For Bacon's own admirable definition of behaviour as the 'garment of the mind,' read the *Advancement of Learning*, II. xxiii. 3.

LIII. OF PRAISE.

PRAISE is the reflexion of virtue. But it is as the glass or body which giveth the reflexion. If it be from the common people, it is commonly false and naught; and rather followeth vain persons than virtuous. For the common people understand not many excellent virtues. The lowest virtues draw praise from them; the middle virtues work in them astonishment or admiration; but of the highest virtues they have no sense of perceiving at all. But shews, and *species virtutibus similes*,¹ serve best with them. Certainly fame is like a river, that beareth up things light and swoln, and drowns things weighty and solid. But if persons of quality and judgment concur, then it is (as the Scripture saith), *Nomen bonum instar unguenti fragrantis*.² It filleth all round about, and will not easily away.³ For the odours of ointments are more durable than those of flowers. There be so many false points of praise, that a man may justly hold it a suspect. Some praises proceed merely of flattery; and if he be an ordinary flatterer, he will have certain common attributes, which may serve every man; if he

¹ Appearances similar to virtues. "*Is Calpurnio genere ortus, ac multa insignesque familias paterna nobilitate complexus, claro apud vulgum rumore erat per virtutem, aut species virtutibus similes.*" *P. Cornelii Taciti Annalium Liber XV. 48.*

² A good name is like unto a fragrant ointment. Bacon has here in mind *Ecclesiastes vii. 1*, where the proverb is, "A good name is better than precious ointment."

³ *Away. Go away.* Elliptical use, with verb suppressed, simulating an imperative, or rarely, as here, an infinitive.

"For 'get you gone,' she doth not mean *away*!"

Shakspeare. The Two Gentlemen of Verona. iii. 1.

be a cunning flatterer, he will follow the arch-flatterer, which is a man's self; and wherein a man thinketh best of himself, therein the flatterer will uphold him most: but if he be an imprudent flatterer, look wherein a man is conscious to himself that he is most defective, and is most out of countenance in himself, that will the flatterer entitle him to perforce, *spretâ conscientiâ*.¹ Some praises come of good wishes and respects, which is a form due in civility to kings and great persons, *laudando præcipere*,² when by telling men what they are, they represent to them what they should be. Some men are praised maliciously to their hurt, thereby to stir envy and jealousy towards them; *pessimum genus inimicorum laudantium*;³ insomuch as it was a proverb amongst the Grecians, that *he that was praised to his hurt, should have a push*⁴ *rise upon his nose*; as we say, *that a blister will rise upon one's tongue that tells a lie*. Certainly moderate praise, used with opportunity, and not vulgar, is that which doth the good. Salomon saith, *He that praiseth his friend aloud, rising early, it shall be to him no better than a curse*.⁵ Too much magnifying of man or matter doth irritate contradiction, and procure envy and scorn. To praise a man's self cannot be decent, except it be in rare cases; but to praise a

¹ Conscience being despised.

² To instruct by praising.

³ Flatterers are the worst kind of enemies. "*Causa periculi non crimen ullum, aut querela laesi cujusquam, sed infensus virtutibus Princeps, et gloria viri, ac pessimum inimicorum genus, laudantes.*" *Cornelii Taciti Vita Agricolæ. Caput 41.*

⁴ Push. Pimple.

⁵ "He that blesseth his friend with a loud voice, rising early in the morning, it shall be counted a curse to him." *Proverbs xxvii. 14.*

man's office or profession, he may do it with good grace, and with a kind of magnanimity. The Cardinals of Rome, which are theologues,¹ and friars, and schoolmen, have a phrase of notable contempt and scorn towards civil business: for they call all temporal business of wars, embassages, judicature, and other employments, *sbirrerie*, which is *under-sheriffries*; as if they were but matters for under-sheriffs and catchpoles:² though many times those under-sheriffries do more good than their high speculations. St. Paul, when he boasts of himself, he doth oft interlace, *I speak like a fool*;³ but speaking of his calling, he saith, *magnificabo apostolatum meum*.⁴

LIV. OF VAIN-GLORY.

It was prettily devised of Æsop: *the fly sat upon the axle-tree of the chariot wheel, and said, What a dust do I raise!*⁵ So are there some vain persons, that

¹ *Theologues. Theologians.*

² *Catchpole, or catchpoll. A bailiff's assistant; a sergeant (of police).*

³ "Are they ministers of Christ? (I speak as a fool) I am more; in labours more abundant, in stripes above measure, in prisons more frequent, in deaths oft." *II. Corinthians xi. 23.*

⁴ "For I speak to you Gentiles, inasmuch as I am the apostle of the Gentiles, I magnify mine office." *Romans xi. 13.*

⁵ *Fable CCLXX. A Fly upon a Wheel. The Fables of Abstemius, etc., in Fables of Æsop and Other Eminent Mythologists: With Morals and Reflexions. By Sir Roger L'Estrange, Kt. The third edition. 1669, p. 244. Laurentius Abstemius is the Latinized name of the Italian fabulist, Lorenzo Bevilacqua, who published a book of fables entitled, *Hecathomythium seu centum Fabulae. (Venetiis. 1499. 4to.)*. This charming fable Abstemius called, *De Musca Quae Quadrigis Insidens, puluerem se excitasse dicebat*. Bacon may have read it and associated it with Æsop, in a little*

whatsoever goeth alone or moveth upon greater means, if they have never so little hand in it, they think it is they that carry it. They that are glorious must needs be factious;¹ for all bravery stands upon comparisons. They must needs be violent, to make good their own vaunts. Neither can they be secret, and therefore not effectual; but according to the French proverb, *Beaucoup de bruit, peu de fruit*; *Much bruit*,² *little fruit*. Yet certainly there is use of this quality in civil affairs. Where there is an opinion and fame to be created either of virtue or greatness, these men are good trumpeters. Again, as Titus Livius noteth in the case of Antiochus³ and the Ætolians, *there are sometimes great effects of cross lies*;⁴ as if a man that negociates between two princes, to draw them to join in a war against the third, doth extol the forces of either of them above measure, the one to the other:

book of Latin fables published in Lyons in Henry the Eighth's time: *Aesopi Phrygis et Aliorum Fabulae, quorum nomina sequenti pagella videre licet. Accessit huic editioni Alterum Laurentii Abstemii Hecathomythium, hoc est, centum fabularum libellus alter. Lugduni Apud Haeredes Simonis Vincentii M. D. XXXVII.*

¹ *Factionous*. Given to faction; inclined to form parties, or to act for party purposes; seditious.

"He is a traitor; let him to the Tower,
And chop away that *factionous* pate of his."

Shakspeare. II. King Henry VI. v. 1.

² *Bruit*. Noise; din; clamour. "Behold, the noise of the bruit is come, and a great commotion out of the north country, to make the cities of Judah desolate, and a den of dragons." *Jeremiah x. 22.*

³ Antiochus III., surnamed 'the Great,' was born about 238 B.C. and died in 187 B.C. He was King of Syria from 223 to 187 B.C.

⁴ For the "cross lies" between Antiochus III. and the Aetolians, see *Livy, Liber XXXVII. Capita 48. 49. and 50.* After the defeat of the Macedonians at Cynocephalae, 197 B.C., by Flamininus, the Aetolian confederation attempted to form an alliance with Antiochus III., King of Syria. It proved to be disastrous, for Antiochus was defeated by Porcius Cato at the pass of Thermopylae, 191 B.C., and by the brothers, Cornelius and Africanus Scipio, at Magnesia, 190 B.C.

and sometimes he that deals between man and man, raiseth his own credit with both, by pretending greater interest than he hath in either. And in these and the like kinds, it often falls out that somewhat is produced of nothing; for lies are sufficient to breed opinion, and opinion brings on substance. In militar¹ commanders and soldiers, vain-glory is an essential point; for as iron sharpens iron, so by glory² one courage sharpeneth another. In cases of great enterprise upon charge³ and adventure, a composition of glorious natures doth put life into business; and those that are of solid and sober natures have more of the ballast than of the sail. In fame of learning, the flight will be slow without some feathers of ostentation. *Qui de contemnendâ gloriâ libros scribunt, nomen suum inscribunt.*⁴ Socrates, Aristotle,⁵ Galen,⁶ were men full of ostentation. Certainly vain-glory helpeth to perpetuate a

¹ Militar. Military.

"And there instruct the noble English heirs,
In politique and militar affairs."

Ben Jonson. *Underwoods. LXIII. A Speech. According to Horace.*

² Glory. Boastfulness. Now obsolete, except in the combination, 'vainglory.' "I will punish the fruit of the stout heart of the King of Assyria, and the glory of his high looks." *Isaiah x. 12.*

³ Charge. Expense or cost; "charge and adventure" means 'cost and risk.'

⁴ Those who write books condemning glory inscribe their names therein. Bacon is quoting Cicero, "*Quid? nostri philosophi nonne in iis libris ipsis, quos scribunt de contemnenda gloria, sua nomina inscribunt?*" What? shall not our philosophers who write condemning glory inscribe their names in their own books? *M. Tullii Ciceronis Tusculanarum Disputationum ad Brutum Liber I. Caput 15.*

⁵ Aristotle, 384–322 B.C., one of the most famous and influential of the Greek philosophers. He was the founder of the Peripatetic school of philosophy, and the teacher of Alexander the Great. His extant works include the *Politics*, *Poetics*, *Nichomachean Ethics*, *Metaphysics*, *Rhetoric*, etc.

⁶ Claudius Galenus, born about 130 A.D., was a celebrated Greek physician and philosophical writer.

man's memory; and virtue was never so beholding to human nature, as¹ it received his due at the second hand. Neither had the fame of Cicero, Seneca, Plinius Secundus² borne her age so well, if it had not been joined with some vanity in themselves; like unto varnish, that makes ceilings not only shine but last. But all this while, when I speak of vain-glory, I mean not of that property that Tacitus doth attribute to Mucianus;³ *Omnium, quæ dixerat feceratque, arte quâdam ostentator*:⁴ for that proceeds not of vanity but of natural magnanimity and discretion; and in some persons is not only comely, but gracious. For excusations,⁵ cessions,⁶ modesty itself well governed are but arts of ostentation. And amongst those arts there is none better than that which Plinius Secundus speaketh of, which is to be liberal of praise and commendation to others, in that wherein a man's self hath any perfection. For saith Pliny very wittily, *In commending another you do yourself right; for he that you commend is either superior to you in that you commend, or inferior. If he be inferior, if he be to be commended, you much*

¹ *As. That.*

² Caius Plinius Caecilius Secundus, Pliny the Younger, 62–113 A.D., a Roman author. He was the nephew of the elder Pliny, the naturalist, and the friend of Trajan and Tacitus. His *Epistles* and a eulogy of Trajan have been preserved.

³ Marcus Licinius Crassus was a grandson of Licinius Crassus of the first triumvirate. He was consul in 66 A.D., governor of Syria, 67 A.D., and consul again in 70 and 72 A.D. He died in or before 77 A.D. The phrase is borrowed from *Livy*, XXVI. 19, who uses it of Scipio Africanus, "*Fuit Scipio non veris tantum virtutibus mirabilis, sed arte quoque quadam ab juvena in ostentationem earum compositus.*"

⁴ Tacitus's words are "*omniumque quæ diceret atque ageret arte quadam ostentator,*" and by a certain art a vaunter of all that he had said or done. *Cornelii Taciti Historiarum Liber II. 80.*

⁵ *Excusations. Excuses.*

⁶ *Cessions. Concessions.*

more; if he be superior, if he be not to be commended, you much less.¹ Glorious men are the scorn of wise men, the admiration of fools, the idols of parasites, and the slaves of their own vaunts.²

LV. OF HONOUR AND REPUTATION.

THE winning of Honour is but the revealing of a man's virtue and worth without disadvantage. For some in their actions do woo and affect honour and reputation; which sort of men are commonly much talked of, but inwardly little admired. And some, contrariwise, darken their virtue in the shew of it; so as they be undervalued in opinion. If a man perform that³ which hath not been attempted before; or attempted and given over; or hath been achieved, but not with so good circumstance;⁴ he shall pur-

¹ I quote the Latin of Pliny, to call attention to Bacon's style of translation, close but varied: "*Disertior ipse es? tanto magis, ne invideris: nam qui invidet minor est. Denique, sive plus sive minus sive idem praestas, lauda vel inferiorem vel superiorem vel parem: superiorem, quia, nisi laudandus ille, non potes ipse laudari; inferiorem aut parem, quia pertinet ad tuam gloriam quam maximum videri quem praecedis vel exaequas.*" C. Plini Caecili Secundi Epistolarum Liber VI. 17.

² Vaunt. A vain display; a boast.

"As next the King, he was successive heir,
And such high vaunts of his nobility,
Did instigate the bedlam brain-sick duchess
By wicked means to frame our sovereign's fall."

Shakspeare. II. King Henry VI. iii. 1.

³ That. What.

⁴ Circumstance. The logical surroundings or adjuncts of an action, such as its time, place, manner, or cause; in the singular, any one of these conditioning adjuncts. "My lord hath sent you this note; and by me this further charge,—that you swerve not from the smallest article of it, neither in time, matter, or other circumstance." Shakspeare. Measure for Measure. iv. 2.

chase more honour, than by effecting a matter of greater difficulty or virtue, wherein he is but a follower. If a man so temper his actions, as¹ in some one of them he doth content every faction or combination of people, the music will be the fuller. A man is an ill husband² of his honour, that entereth into any action, the failing wherein may disgrace him more than the carrying of it through can honour him. Honour that is gained and broken upon another³ hath the quickest reflexion, like diamonds cut with fascets. And therefore let a man contend to excel any competitors of his in honour, in out-shooting them, if he can, in their own bow. Discreet followers and servants help much to reputation. *Omnis fama a domesticis emanat.*⁴ Envy, which is the canker of honour, is best extinguished by declaring a man's self in his ends rather to seek merit than fame; and by attributing a man's successes rather to divine Providence and felicity, than to his own virtue or policy. The true marshalling of the degrees of sovereign honour are these. In

¹ *As. That.*

² *Husband. One who manages his affairs with skill and thrift; a saving, frugal, or provident man; an economist. "I gave each of them a Musket with a Firelock on it, and about eight Charges of Powder and Ball, charging them to be very good Husbands of both, and not to use either of them but upon urgent Occasion." Defoe. The Life and Adventures of Robinson Crusoe. p. 253 (Globe edition).*

³ The Latin essay reads, "*Honor qui comparativus est et alium praegravat,*" Honor which is gained and weighs down or depresses another, that is, 'honor which is gained by overcoming a competitor.'

⁴ All fame emanates from domestics. Bacon is quoting from a letter of Quintus Cicero to his brother Marcus Tullius, "*Nam fere omnis sermo ad forensem famam a domesticis emanat auctoribus.*" *Epistola Q. Ciceronis De Petitione Consulatus ad M. Fratrem. V. 17. M. Tullii Ciceronis Scripta Quae Manserunt Omnia. III. 649. R. Klotz. Leipzig. 1885.*

the first place are *conditores imperiorum*, founders of states and commonwealths; such as were Romulus, Cyrus,¹ Cæsar, Ottoman,² Ismael. In the second place are *legislatores*, lawgivers; which are also called *second founders*, or *perpetui principes*,³ because they govern by their ordinances after they are gone; such were Lycurgus,⁴ Solon, Justinian,⁵ Eadgar,⁶ Alphonsus of Castile,⁷ the wise, that made the *Siete partidas*. In the third place are *liberatores*, or *salvatores*,⁸ such as compound⁹ the long miseries of civil wars, or deliver their countries from servitude of strangers or tyrants; as Augustus Cæsar, Vespasianus, Aurelianus,¹⁰ Theodoricus,¹¹ King Henry the

¹ Cyrus the Great, 559–529 B.C., founder of the Persian empire.

² Osman I. (Othman, or Ottoman), died 1326, founder of the Ottoman empire. He became chief of his tribe in 1288, and assumed the title of emir (not of sultan) in 1299.

³ Perpetual princes.

⁴ Lycurgus, the Spartan lawgiver, lived probably in the 9th century B.C. He is the traditional author of the laws and institutions of Sparta.

⁵ Flavius Anicius Justinianus, 'the Great,' 483–565 A.D., Byzantine emperor, 527–565.

⁶ Eadgar, or Edgar, 944–975, called 'the Peaceful,' great-grandson of Alfred, King of England, 959–975.

⁷ Alfonso X., 1221–1284, King of Leon and Castile, 1252–1282, surnamed 'the Wise' and 'the Astronomer.' He was the author of the Spanish code of laws, which is called *Las Siete Partidas*, from 'the seven parts' into which it is divided. Alfonso X. made Castilian the national language of Spain by causing the Bible to be translated into it, and by requiring all legal proceedings to be conducted in Castilian.

⁸ Liberators or saviours.

⁹ Compound. To settle or compose (disturbance, strife, difference, litigation).

"Rise, Grumio, rise: we will compound this quarrel."

Shakspeare. *The Taming of the Shrew*. i. 2.

¹⁰ Claudius Lucius Valerius Domitius Aurelianus, 212(?)–275 A.D., Emperor of Rome 270–275 A.D. Aurelian was the conqueror of Zenobia, Queen of Palmyra, in 272 and 273. He was called by the Roman senate, the 'Restorer of the Roman Empire.'

¹¹ Theodoric the Great, 454(?)–526, King of the East Goths. In mediæval German romance Theodoric is celebrated as Dietrich von Bern (that is, Theodoric of Verona).

Seventh of England, King Henry the Fourth of France.¹ In the fourth place are *propagatores* or *propugnatores imperii*;² such as in honourable wars enlarge their territories, or make noble defence against invaders. And in the last place are *patres patriæ*,³ which reign justly, and make the times good wherein they live. Both which last kinds need no examples, they are in such number. Degrees of honour in subjects are, first *participes curarum*,⁴ those upon whom princes do discharge the greatest weight of their affairs; their *right hands*, as we call them. The next are *duces belli*,⁵ great leaders; such as are princes' lieutenants, and do them notable⁶ services in the wars. The third are *gratiosi*, favourites; such as exceed not this scantling,⁷ to be solace to the sovereign, and harmless to the people. And the fourth, *negotiis pares*;⁸ such as have great places under princes, and execute their places with sufficiency. There is an honour, likewise, which may be ranked amongst the greatest, which happeneth

¹ Henry IV., of France, 1553–1610, King of France, 1589–1610. He was the son of Antoine de Bourbon, King of Navarre, and Jeanne d'Albret, and is the Henry of Navarre of song and story.

² Propagators or defenders of empire.

³ Fathers of their country.

⁴ Sharers of cares.

⁵ Leaders of war.

⁶ Notable. Worthy of notice; noteworthy; remarkable. "And as I was considering, behold, an he goat came from the west, on the face of the whole earth, and touched not the ground: and the goat had a notable horn between his eyes." *Daniel viii. 5.*

⁷ Scantling. A small quantity, number, or amount. "The muleteer, as I told you, was a little, joyous, chirping fellow, who thought not of to-morrow, nor of what had gone before, or what was to follow, provided he got but his scantling of Burgundy, and a little chit-chat along with it." *Sterne. The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy, Gent. VII. 21.*

⁸ Equal to negotiations. For Bacon's own translation, "able to manage affairs," see *Of the True Greatness of Kingdoms and Estates.*

rarely; that is, of such as sacrifice¹ themselves to death or danger for the good of their country; as was M. Regulus,² and the two Decii.³

LVI. OF JUDICATURE.⁴

JUDGES ought to remember that their office is *jus dicere*, and not *jus dare*; to interpret law, and not to make law, or give law. Else will it be like the authority claimed by the church of Rome, which under pretext of exposition of Scripture doth not stick⁵ to

¹ *Sacrifice.* To make an offering or sacrifice of one's self; to devote one's self as an expression of thanksgiving, reconciliation, consecration, or penitence.

² Marcus Atilius Regulus, a celebrated Roman general and consul, who died about 250 B.C. According to Roman tradition, Regulus in the first Punic War, after conquering and devastating the country of the Carthaginians up to the gates of Carthage, was finally defeated and taken prisoner. Some time afterwards, the Carthaginians sent Regulus to Rome to negotiate an exchange of prisoners, first exacting from him a promise, on oath, that, if he were unsuccessful, he would return to captivity. Regulus advised the Roman senate not to consent to the exchange, on the ground that it would be disadvantageous to Rome. Then, true to his oath, he returned to Carthage, where the enraged Carthaginians put him to death in the most barbarous manner.

³ The two Decii were father and son of the same name, Publius Decius Mus, of the plebeian gens of the Decii. The father was consul in 340 B.C. In the battle of Mt. Vesuvius in that year, Decius, repeating after the chief pontiff a solemn formula by which he devoted "the legions and auxiliaries of the enemy along with himself to the *Dii Manes* and the earth-goddess," then dashed into the ranks of the Latins, and met a death which was followed by a crushing defeat of the enemy. (*Livy. VIII. 9.*) The son, Publius Decius Mus, was consul for the fourth time in 295 B.C., and sacrificed himself after the manner of his father in the battle of Sentinum, when the left wing which he commanded was shaken by the Gauls. (*Livy. X. 28.*)

⁴ This essay contains the substance of Bacon's charge as Lord Chancellor to Sir Richard Hutton on being created puisne, or junior, judge of the common bench. The speech was delivered in the Court of Common Pleas, May 3, 1617. Sir Richard Hutton, 1561(?)–1639, was a fellow 'ancient' of Bacon's at Gray's Inn. Bacon on delivering him his patent complimented him on possessing the virtues of a judge.

⁵ *Stick.* To scruple; hesitate.

add and alter ; and to pronounce that which they do not find ; and by shew of antiquity to introduce novelty. Judges ought to be more learned than witty, more reverend than plausible, and more advised than confident. Above all things, integrity is their portion and proper virtue. *Cursed* (saith the law) *is he that removeth the landmark.*¹ The mislayer of a mere-stone² is to blame. But it is the unjust judge that is the capital remover of landmarks, when he defineth amiss of lands and property. One foul sentence doth more hurt than many foul examples. For these do but corrupt the stream, the other corrupteth the fountain. So saith Salomon, *Fons turbatus, et vena corrupta, est justus cadens in causâ suâ coram adversario.*³ The office of judges may have reference unto the parties that sue, unto the advocates that plead, unto the clerks and ministers of justice underneath them, and to the sovereign or state above them.

First, for the causes or parties that sue. *There be* (saith the Scripture) *that turn judgment into wormwood ;*⁴ and surely there be also that turn it into vinegar ; for injustice maketh it bitter, and delays make it sour. The principal duty of a judge is to suppress force and fraud ; whereof force is the more pernicious when it is open, and fraud when it is close and disguised. Add thereto contentious suits,

¹ "Cursed be he that removeth his neighbor's landmark." *Deuteronomy xxvii. 17.*

² *Mere-stone.* A stone to mark a boundary.

³ A just man falling in his cause before his adversary is as a troubled fountain and a corrupt spring. Bacon slightly varies the quotation from the *Vulgate*, "A righteous man falling down before the wicked is as a troubled fountain, and a corrupt spring." *Proverbs xxv. 26.*

⁴ "Ye who turn judgment to wormwood, and leave off righteousness in the earth." *Amos v. 7.*

which ought to be spewed out, as the surfeit of courts. A judge ought to prepare his way to a just sentence, as God useth to prepare his way, by raising valleys and taking down hills: so when there appeareth on either side an high hand, violent prosecution, cunning advantages taken, combination, power, great counsel, then is the virtue of a judge seen, to make inequality equal; that he may plant his judgment as upon an even ground. *Qui fortiter emungit, elicit sanguinem*; ¹ and where the wine-press is hard wrought, it yields a harsh wine, that tastes of the grape-stone. Judges must beware of hard constructions and strained inferences; for there is no worse torture than the torture of laws. Specially in case of laws penal, they ought to have care that that which was meant for terror be not turned into rigour; and that they bring not upon the people that shower whereof the Scripture speaketh, *Pluet super eos laqueos*; ² for penal laws pressed are a shower of snares upon the people. Therefore let penal laws, if they have been sleepers of ³ long, or if they be grown unfit for the present time, be by wise judges confined in the execution: *Judicis officium est, ut res, ita tempora rerum, &c.* ⁴ In causes of life and death,

¹ He who wrings the nose hard draws blood. Bacon is quoting *Proverbs xxx. 33*, "Surely the churning of milk bringeth forth butter, and the wringing of the nose bringeth forth blood."

² He shall rain snares upon them. "Upon the wicked he shall rain snares, fire and brimstone, and an horrible tempest: this shall be the portion of their cup." *Psalms xi. 6*.

³ Of would now be *for*; so in *Luke xxiii. 8*, "for he was desirous to see him of a long season," that is, '*for a long season*.'

⁴ It is the duty of a judge to consider the times as well as the circumstances of facts.

*"Judicis officium est, ut res, ita tempora rerum
Quaerere."*

P. Ovidii Nasonis Tristium Liber I. Elegia I. 37-38.

judges ought (as far as the law permitteth) in justice to remember mercy; and to cast a severe eye upon the example, but a merciful eye upon the person.

Secondly, for the advocates and counsel that plead. Patience and gravity of hearing is an essential part of justice; and an overspeaking¹ judge is no well-tuned cymbal.² It is no grace to a judge first to find that which he might have heard in due time from the bar; or to show quickness of conceit³ in cutting off evidence or counsel too short; or to prevent⁴ information by questions, though pertinent. The parts of a judge in hearing are four: to direct the evidence; to moderate length, repetition, or impertinency⁵ of speech; to recapitulate, select, and collate the material points of that which hath been said; and to give the rule or sentence. Whatsoever is above these is too much; and proceedeth either of⁶ glory⁷ and willingness to speak, or of impatience to hear, or of shortness of memory, or of want of a staid and equal attention. It is a strange thing to see that the boldness of advocates should prevail with judges; whereas they should imitate God, in whose seat they sit; who *represseth the presumptuous and giveth grace*⁸ to the

¹ *Overspeaking. That speaks too much.*

² "Praise him upon the well-tuned cymbals."

Psalms cl. 5. The Psalter.

³ *Conceit. Conception; apprehension.*

⁴ *Prevent. To forestall.* "For thou preventest him with the blessings of goodness: thou settest a crown of pure gold on his head." *Psalms xxi. 3.*

⁵ *Impertinency. Irrelevancy.*

⁶ *Of. From.*

⁷ *Glory. Vanity; display.*

⁸ *Grace. Favor.* "But he giveth more grace. Wherefore he saith, God resisteth the proud, but giveth grace unto the humble." *James iv. 6.*

modest. But it is more strange, that judges should have noted favourites; which cannot but cause multiplication of fees, and suspicion of bye-ways. There is due from the judge to the advocate some commendation and gracing,¹ where causes are well handled and fair² pleaded; especially towards the side which obtaineth not; for that upholds in the client the reputation of his counsel, and beats down in him the conceit³ of his cause. There is likewise due to the public a civil reprehension of advocates, where there appeareth cunning counsel, gross neglect, slight information, indiscreet pressing, or an over-bold defence. And let not the counsel at the bar chop⁴ with the judge, nor wind himself into the handling of the cause anew after the judge hath declared his sentence; but on the other side, let not the judge meet the cause half way, nor give occasion for the party to say his counsel or proofs were not heard.

Thirdly, for that that concerns clerks and ministers. The place of justice is an hallowed place; and therefore not only the bench, but the foot-pace⁵ and precincts and purprise⁶ thereof, ought to be preserved without scandal and corruption. For cer-

¹ *Grace. To favor.*

² *Fair. Fairly.*

"Speak me *fair* in death."

Shakspeare. The Merchant of Venice. iv. 1.

³ *Conceit. Opinion.* "Seest thou a man wise in his own conceit? there is more hope of a fool than of him." *Proverbs xxvi. 12.*

⁴ *Chop. To bandy words.*

"The *chopping* French we do not understand."

Shakspeare. King Richard II. v. 3.

⁵ *Foot-pace. Lobby.*

⁶ *Purprise. Enclosure.*

tainly *Grapes* (as the Scripture saith) *will not be gathered of thorns or thistles*; ¹ neither can justice yield her fruit with sweetness amongst the briars and brambles of catching and polling ² clerks and ministers. The attendance of courts is subject to four bad instruments. First, certain persons that are sowers of suits; which make the court swell, and the country pine. The second sort is of those that engage courts in quarrels of jurisdiction, and are not truly *amici curiæ*, but *parasiti curiæ*, ³ in puffing a court up beyond her bounds, for their own scraps ⁴ and advantage. The third sort is of those that may be accounted the left hands of courts; persons that are full of nimble and sinister tricks and shifts, whereby they pervert the plain and direct courses of courts, and bring justice into oblique lines and labyrinths. And the fourth is the poller and exacter of fees; which justifies the common resemblance of the courts of justice to the bush whereunto while the sheep flies for defence in weather, he is sure to lose part of his fleece. On the other side, an ancient clerk, skilful in precedents, wary in proceedings, and understanding in the business of the court, is an excellent finger of a court; and doth many times point the way to the judge himself.

¹ "Ye shall know them by their fruits. Do men gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles?" *Matthew vii. 16.*

² *Poll.* To plunder; to exact 'graft.' *Poller*, a little further on, means a plunderer, a 'grafter.'

³ *Friends of the court*, but *parasites of the court*.

⁴ *Scrap.* In the provincial English of Norfolk, a *scrap*, or *scrape*, is a quantity of chaff mixed with grain and laid as a decoy to lure small birds for the purpose of shooting or netting them; hence, a *snaŕe*. Familiar, in the spelling 'scrape,' meaning a situation of difficulty or perplexity. "Scrap. A villainous scheme or plot. Grose." *A Dictionary of Slang and Colloquial English.* John S. Farmer and W. E. Henley. 1905.

Fourthly, for that which may concern the sovereign and estate. Judges ought above all to remember the conclusion of the Roman Twelve Tables; *Salus populi suprema lex*; ¹ and to know that laws, except they be in order to that end, are but things captious,² and oracles not well inspired. Therefore it is an happy thing in a state when kings and states do often consult with judges; and again when judges do often consult with the king and state: the one, when there is matter of law intervenient³ in business of state; the other, when there is some consideration of state intervenient in matter of law. For many times the things deduced to judgment may be *meum* and *tuum*,⁴ when the reason and consequence thereof may trench to point of estate:⁵ I call matter of estate, not only the parts of sovereignty, but whatsoever introduceth any great alteration or dangerous precedent; or concerneth manifestly any great portion of people. And let no man weakly conceive that just laws and true policy have any antipathy; for they are like the spirits and sinews, that one moves with the other. Let judges also remember, that Salomon's throne was supported by lions on both sides: ⁶ let them be lions, but yet

¹ The safety of the people is the supreme law. The quotation is not from the Laws of the XII Tables, but from Cicero, *De Legibus Liber III. Caput 3. Section 8*, where Cicero proposes it as a law for the government of his imaginary Republic.

² *Captious. Perplexing.*

³ *Intervenient. Intervening.*

⁴ 'Mine' and 'thine.'

⁵ *Estate. State.*

⁶ "The throne had six steps, and the top of the throne was round behind: and there were stays on either side on the place of the seat, and two lions stood beside the stays.

"And twelve lions stood there on the one side and on the other upon the six steps: there was not the like made in any kingdom." *I. Kings x. 19 and 20.*

lions under the throne ; being circumspect that they do not check or oppose any points of sovereignty. Let not judges also be so ignorant of their own right, as to think there is not left to them, as a principal part of their office, a wise use and application of laws. For they may remember what the apostle saith of a greater law than theirs ; *Nos scimus quia lex bona est, modo quis ea utatur legitime.*¹

LVII. OF ANGER.

To seek to extinguish Anger utterly is but a bravery² of the Stoics. We have better oracles : *Be angry, but sin not. Let not the sun go down upon your anger.*³ Anger must be limited and confined both in race and in time. We will first speak how the natural inclination and habit to be angry may be attempered⁴ and calmed. Secondly, how the particular motions of anger may be repressed, or at least refrained⁵ from doing mischief. Thirdly, how to raise anger or appease anger in another.

¹ "But we know that the law is good, if a man use it lawfully." *I. Timothy i. 8.* Bacon quotes the *Vulgate*, varying the language slightly. It is there, "*Scimus autem quia bona est lex, si quis ea legitime utatur.*"

² Bravery. Bravado ; boast.

³ *Ephesians iv. 26.*

⁴ Attempered. Tempered.

⁵ Refrain. To restrain.

"And thou, O human heart of mine,
Be still, refrain thyself, and wait."

Arthur Hugh Clough. *Poems on Life and Duty. In a London Square. ii.*

For the first; there is no other way but to meditate and ruminate well upon the effects of anger, how it troubles man's life. And the best time to do this, is to look back upon anger when the fit is thoroughly over. Seneca saith well, *That anger is like ruin, which breaks itself upon that it falls.*¹ The Scripture exhorteth us *To possess our souls in patience.*² Whosoever is out of patience, is out of possession of his soul. Men must not turn bees;

..... animasque in vulnere ponunt.³

Anger is certainly a kind of baseness; as it appears well in the weakness of those subjects in whom it reigns; children, women, old folks, sick folks. Only men must beware that they carry their anger rather with scorn than with fear; so that they may seem rather to be above the injury than below it; which is a thing easily done, if a man will give law to himself in it.

For the second point; the causes and motives of anger are chiefly three. First, to be too sensible of hurt; for no man is angry that feels not himself hurt; and therefore tender and delicate persons must needs be oft⁴ angry; they have so many things to trouble them, which more robust natures have little sense of. The next is, the apprehension and construction of the injury offered to be, in the circumstances thereof, full of contempt: for con-

¹ "*Ruinis simillima, quae super id quod oppressere franguntur.*" Seneca. *De Ira. Liber I. 1.*

² "In your patience possess ye your souls." Luke xxi. 19.

³ And put their lives in the sting. *P. Vergili Maronis Georgicon Liber IV. 238.* Bees were supposed to die when they lost their stings.

⁴ Oft. Often.

tempt is that which putteth an edge upon anger, as much or more than the hurt itself. And therefore when men are ingenious in picking out circumstances of contempt, they do kindle their anger much. Lastly, opinion of the touch¹ of a man's reputation doth multiply and sharpen anger. Wherein the remedy is, that a man should have, as Consalvo was wont to say, *telam honoris crassiore*.² But in all refrainings of anger, it is the best remedy to win time; and to make a man's self believe, that the opportunity of his revenge is not yet come, but that he foresees a time for it; and so to still himself in the mean time, and reserve it.

To contain³ anger from mischief, though it take hold of a man, there be two things whereof you must have special caution. The one, of extreme bitterness of words, especially if they be aculeate⁴ and proper;⁵ for *communia maledicta*⁶ are nothing so much; and again, that in anger a man reveal no secrets; for that makes him not fit for society.

¹ *Touch. Censure; blame.* "I never bare any *touch* of conscience with greater regret." *Eikon Basilike.*

² A thicker web of honor. Consalvo is Gonzalo Fernandez y Aguilar, 1453–1515, commonly called Gonsalvo de Cordova, or *El Gran Capitan*, 'the Great Captain.' He commanded the armies of Ferdinand the Catholic, and took an active part in the conquest of Granada. "Consalvo would say: *The honour of a soldier ought to be of a good strong web*; meaning, that it should not be so fine and curious, that every little disgrace should catch and stick to it." Bacon. *Apophthegmes New and Old.* 180 (89). Compare also, *Advancement of Learning*, II. xx. 12.

³ *Contain. Restrain.*

"We can contain ourselves,
Were he the veriest antic in the world."
Shakspeare. The Taming of the Shrew. Induction. i.

⁴ *Aculedte. Pointed; incisive; stinging.*

⁵ *Proper. Appropriate.*

⁶ *General reproaches.*

The other, that you do not peremptorily break off, in any business, in a fit of anger; but howsoever you shew bitterness, do not act anything that is not revocable.

For raising and appeasing anger in another; it is done chiefly by choosing of times, when men are frowardest and worst disposed, to incense them. Again, by gathering (as was touched before) all that you can find out to aggravate the contempt. And the two remedies are by the contraries. The former to take good times, when first to relate to a man an angry¹ business; for the first impression is much; and the other is, to sever, as much as may be, the construction of the injury from the point of contempt; imputing it to misunderstanding, fear, passion, or what you will.

LVIII. OF VICISSITUDE OF THINGS.

SALOMON saith, *There is no new thing upon the earth.*² So that as Plato had an imagination, *That all knowledge was but remembrance;*³ so Salomon giveth his sentence, *That all novelty is but oblivion.* Whereby you may see that the river of Lethe run-

¹ *Angry. Provoking anger; irritating.*

² *Ecclesiastes i. 9.*

³ The doctrine that 'all knowledge is but remembrance' is expounded by Plato in the two Dialogues, *Phaedo*, 72 and *Meno*, 81. In "*The First Book of Francis Bacon; of the Proficiency and Advancement of Learning, Divine and Human, To the King,*" Bacon asserts, with fulsome flattery, "I have often thought, that of all the persons living that I have known, your Majesty were the best instance to make a man of Plato's opinion, that all knowledge is but remembrance."

neth as well above ground as below. There is an abstruse astrologer that saith, *if it were not for two things that are constant, (the one is, that the fixed stars ever stand at like distance one from another, and never come nearer together, nor go further asunder; the other, that the diurnal motion perpetually keepeth time,)* no individual would last one moment. Certain it is, that the matter is in a perpetual flux,¹ and never at a stay. The great winding-sheets, that bury all things in oblivion, are two; deluges and earthquakes. As for conflagrations and great droughts, they do not merely dispeople and destroy. Phaëton's² car went but a day. And the three years' drought in the time of Elias³ was but particular,⁴ and left people alive. As for the great burning by lightnings, which are often in the West Indies, they are but narrow. But in the other two destructions, by deluge and earthquake, it is further to be noted, that the remnant of people which hap⁵ to be re-

¹ *Flux.* A continuous succession of changes of condition, composition, or substance; fluctuation. "The language of this country being always upon the *flux*, the struldbrugs of one age do not understand those of another." *Swift. Travels into several Remote Nations of the World. By Lemuel Gulliver. A Voyage to Laputa, etc. Part III. Chapter 10.*

² Phaëton, or Phaëthon, in Greek mythology, was the son of Helios and Clymene. He obtained permission from Helios to drive the chariot of the sun across the heavens for one day, but unable to check his horses he was overthrown and nearly set the world on fire. To punish his presumption Zeus struck him with a thunderbolt and cast him into the river Po.

³ *I. Kings xvii. 1. and xviii. 1.*

⁴ *Particular.* Partial, not universal. "'T is ridiculous to put off, or drown, the general flood of Noah in that particular inundation of Deucalion." *Sir Thomas Browne. Religio Medici. Part I. Section 22.*

⁵ *Hap.* To have the 'hap,' fortune, or luck ('to do' something, or with clause); happen.

"Hap what hap may, I 'll roundly go about her."

Shakspeare. The Taming of the Shrew. iv. 5.

served, are commonly ignorant and mountainous people, that can give no account of the time past; so that the oblivion is all one¹ as if none had been left. If you consider well of the people of the West Indies, it is very probable that they are a newer or a younger people than the people of the old world. And it is much more likely that the destruction that hath heretofore been there, was not by earthquakes (as the Ægyptian priest told Solon concerning the island of Atlantis,² *that it was swallowed by an earthquake*), but rather that it was desolated by a particular deluge. For earthquakes are seldom in those parts. But on the other side, they have such pouring rivers, as³ the rivers of Asia and Africk and Europe are but brooks to them. Their Andes likewise, or mountains, are far higher than those with us; whereby it seems that the remnants of generation of men were in such a particular deluge saved. As for the observation that Machiavel hath, that the jealousy of sects doth much extinguish the memory of things;⁴ traducing⁵ Gregory the

¹ All one. One and the same; quite the same. "Aweel, sir, if ye think it wadna be again the law, it 's a' ane to Dandie." *Scott. Guy Mannering*. XXXVI.

² For the conversation between Solon and the Egyptian priest, "a man well stricken in years," see *The Timæus of Plato*, III. 21-25, pp. 67-81, in edition of R. D. Archer-Hind, 1888.

³ As. That.

⁴ Bacon has in mind here *Book II., Chapter V.*, of Machiavelli's *Discourses upon the First Decad of Livy*, "That Deluges, Pestilences, the change of Religion and Languages, and other accidents, in a manner extinguish the memory of many things." St. Gregory is the only individual Machiavelli charges with destroying "the monuments of antiquity, defacing images and statues, and demoralizing every thing that might in any wise contribute to keep the memory of paganism alive."

⁵ Traduce. To misrepresent; censure.

Great,¹ that he did what in him lay to extinguish all heathen antiquities; I do not find that those zeals² do any great effects, nor last long; as it appeared in the succession of Sabinian,³ who did revive the former antiquities.

The vicissitude or mutations in the Superior Globe are no fit matter for this present argument. It may be, Plato's great year,⁴ if the world should last so long, would have some effect; not in renewing the state of like individuals, (for that is the fume⁵ of those that conceive the celestial bodies have more accurate influences upon these things below than indeed they have,) but in gross.⁶ Comets, out of question, have likewise power and

¹ Gregory the Great, Saint Gregory, lived from about 540 to 604 A.D., and was Pope, 590–604. In the year 597, Gregory sent Augustine and a band of forty monks to Ethelbert, King of Kent, and within the space of a year Ethelbert had embraced Christianity, together with some ten thousands of his subjects.

² *Zeal. Enthusiasm; fervor.* No longer used in the plural.

³ Pope Sabinian, died 606 A.D. He was the immediate successor of Gregory the Great.

⁴ "Plato's great year," or the perfect year, will be rounded out when all the planets return to one and the same region of the heavens at the same time. As to its duration, there is no agreement among the ancients. Tacitus, on the authority of Cicero, gives it 12,954 years, but Cicero himself expresses no opinion. Plato discusses the problem in the *Timæus*, XI, 38 and 39.

⁵ *Fume.* Something which 'goes to the head' and clouds the faculties or the reason.

"The charm dissolves apace;
And as the morning steals upon the night,
Melting the darkness, so their rising senses
Begin to chase the ignorant fumes that mantle
Their clearer reason."

Shakspeare. The Tempest. v. 1.

⁶ *In gross, or in the gross.* In a general way; generally; without going into particulars; in the main; on the whole.

"The unlettered Christian, who believes in gross,
Plods on to heaven, and ne'er is at a loss."

Dryden. Religio Laici. ll. 322–323.

effect over the gross¹ and mass of things; but they are rather gazed upon, and waited upon in their journey, than wisely observed in their effects; specially in their respective effects; that is, what kind of comet, for magnitude, colour, version² of the beams, placing in the region of heaven, or lasting, produceth what kind of effects.

There is a toy which I have heard, and I would not have it given over, but waited upon a little. They say it is observed in the Low Countries (I know not in what part) that every five and thirty years the same kind of suit³ of years and weathers comes about again; as great frosts, great wet, great droughts, warm winters, summers with little heat, and the like; and they call it the *Prime*. It is a thing I do the rather mention, because, computing backwards, I have found some concurrence.

But to leave these points of nature, and to come to men. The greatest vicissitude of things amongst men, is the vicissitude of sects and religions. For those orbs rule in men's minds most. The true religion is *built upon the rock*;⁴ the rest are tossed upon the waves of time. To speak therefore of the causes of new sects; and to give some counsel concerning them, as far as the weakness of human judgment can give stay to so great revolutions.

¹ *Gross.* The greater part; the majority; the bulk. "The gross of an audience is composed of two sorts of people, those who know no pleasure but of the body, and those who improve or command corporeal pleasures by the addition of fine sentiments of the mind." *Steele. The Spectator. No. 502.*

² *Version.* A turning round or about, change of direction.

³ *Suit.* Series; succession; regular order.

⁴ "And I say also unto thee, that thou art Peter; and upon this rock I will build my church; and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it." *Matthew xvi. 18.*

When the religion formerly received is rent by discords; and when the holiness of the professors of religion is decayed and full of scandal; and withal¹ the times be stupid, ignorant, and barbarous; you may doubt the springing up of a new sect; if then also there should arise any extravagant and strange spirit to make himself author thereof. All which points held when Mahomet published his law. If a new sect have not two properties, fear it not; for it will not spread. The one is, the supplanting or the opposing of authority established; for nothing is more popular than that. The other is, the giving licence to pleasures and a voluptuous life. For as for speculative heresies, (such as were in ancient times the Arians,² and now the Arminians,)³ though they work mightily upon men's wits, yet they do not produce any great alterations in states; except it be by the help of civil occasions. There be three manner of plantations of new sects. By the power of signs and miracles; by the eloquence and wisdom of speech and persuasion; and by the sword. For martyrdoms, I reckon them amongst miracles; because

¹ *Withal.* *With all; in addition; besides.* "For it seemeth to me unreasonable, to send a prisoner, and not *withal* to signify the crimes laid against him." *Acts xxv. 27.*

² The Arians were the followers of Arius, a deacon of Alexandria, who lived in the fourth century. Arius maintained the divinity of Jesus Christ, but held that his nature was not co-equal with that of God, not the same nature, but a similar and subordinate one.

³ The Arminians of Bacon's time were the followers of Arminius, who was a Dutch Protestant divine of Leyden, named Jacobus Harmensen, 1560-1609. Their doctrines, 'The Remonstrance,' published in 1610, expressed their divergence from strict Calvinism, chiefly their objection to predestination, in five articles, and was presented to the states of Holland and West Friesland. The Arminians are sometimes called 'Remonstrants.'

they seem to exceed the strength of human nature : and I may do the like of superlative and admirable holiness of life. Surely there is no better way to stop the rising of new sects and schisms, than to reform abuses ; to compound the smaller differences ; to proceed mildly, and not with sanguinary persecutions ; and rather to take off the principal authors by winning and advancing them, than to enrage them by violence and bitterness.

The changes and vicissitude in wars are many ; but chiefly in three things ; in the seats or stages of the war ; in the weapons ; and in the manner of the conduct. Wars, in ancient time, seemed more to move from east to west ; for the Persians, Assyrians, Arabians, Tartars, (which were the invaders,) were all eastern people. It is true, the Gauls were western ; but we read but of two incursions of theirs : the one to Gallo-Græcia, the other to Rome. But East and West have no certain points of heaven ; and no more have the wars, either from the east or west, any certainty of observation. But North and South are fixed ; and it hath seldom or never been seen that the far southern people have invaded the northern, but contrariwise. Whereby it is manifest that the northern tract of the world is in nature the more martial region : be it in respect of the stars of that hemisphere ; or of the great continents ; that are upon the north, whereas the south part, for aught that is known, is almost all sea ; or (which is most apparent) of the cold of the northern parts, which is that which, without aid of discipline, doth make the bodies hardest, and the courage warmest.

Upon the breaking and shivering of a great state and empire, you may be sure to have wars. For great empires, while they stand, do enervate and destroy the forces of the natives which they have subdued, resting upon their own protecting forces; and then when they fail also, all goes to ruin, and they become a prey. So was it in the decay of the Roman empire; and likewise in the empire of Almaine,¹ after Charles the Great,² every bird taking a feather; and were not unlike to befall³ to Spain, if it should break. The great accessions and unions of kingdoms do likewise stir up wars: for when a state grows to an over-power,⁴ it is like a great flood, that will be sure to overflow. As it hath been seen in the states of Rome, Turkey, Spain and others. Look when the world hath fewest barbarous peoples, but such as commonly, will not marry or generate, except they know means to live, (as it is almost everywhere at this day, except Tartary,) there is no danger of inundations⁵ of people: but when there be great shoals

¹ *Almaigne. Germany.*

² Charles the Great, Carolus Magnus, Charlemagne, lived from 742 or 747 to 814, King of the Franks, and Emperor of the Romans.

³ *Befall. To fall out in the course of events, to happen, to occur (with 'to,' 'unto,' or 'upon'). Archaic.*

"Say, goddess, what ensu'd when Raphael,
The affable archangel, had forewarn'd
Adam by dire example to beware
Apostasy, by what *befel* in Heaven
To those apostates."

Milton. Paradise Lost. VII. 40-44.

⁴ *Over-power. A superior, or supreme power.*

⁵ *Inundation. An overspreading or overwhelming in superfluous abundance; superabundance. "What inundation of life and thought is discharged from one soul into another through them! The glance [of the eyes] is natural magic." Emerson. Conduct of Life. Behavior.*

of people, which go on to populate, without foreseeing means of life and sustentation,¹ it is of necessity that once in an age or two they discharge a portion of their people upon other nations; which the ancient northern people were wont to do by lot; casting lots what part should stay at home, and what should seek their fortunes. When a war-like state grows soft and effeminate, they may be sure of a war. For commonly such states are grown rich in the time of their degenerating; and so the prey inviteth, and their decay in valour encourageth a war.

As for the weapons, it hardly falleth under rule and observation: yet we see even they have returns and vicissitudes. For certain it is, that ordnance was known in the city of the Oxidrakes in India; and was that which the Macedonians called thunder and lightning, and magic. And it is well known that the use of ordnance hath been in China above two thousand years. The conditions of weapons, and their improvement, are, First, the fetching² afar off; for that outruns the danger; as it is seen in ordnance and muskets. Secondly, the strength of the percussion; wherein likewise ordnance do exceed all arietations³ and ancient inventions. The third is, the commodious use of them; as that they may serve in all wea-

¹ *Sustentation.* Support, especially, the support of life, sustenance, maintenance.

² *Fetch.* To 'have at,' reach, strike (a person).

"Come away, or I 'll fetch thee with a wanion."

Shakspeare. Pericles, Prince of Tyre. ii. 1.

³ *Arietation.* The action of butting, like a ram; hence, the striking with a battering-ram, or similar machine.

thers; that the carriage may be light and manageable; and the like.

For the conduct of the war: at the first, men rested extremely upon number: they did put the wars likewise upon main force and valour; pointing days for pitched fields,¹ and so trying it out upon an even match: and they were more ignorant in ranging and arraying their battles.² After they grew to rest upon number rather competent than vast; they grew to³ advantages of place, cunning diversions, and the like: and they grew more skilful in the ordering of their battles.

In the youth of a state, arms do flourish; in the middle age of a state, learning; and then both of them together for a time; in the declining age of a state, mechanical arts and merchandise.⁴ Learning hath his infancy, when it is but beginning and almost childish: then his youth, when it is, luxuriant and juvenile: then his strength of years

¹ *Field.* A battle.

"What though the *field* be lost?
All is not lost; the unconquerable will,
And study of revenge, immortal hate,
And courage never to submit or yield,
And what is else not to be overcome;
That glory never shall his wrath or might
Extort from me."

Milton. *Paradise Lost.* I. 105-110.

² *Battle.* A body or line of troops in battle array, whether an entire army, or one of its main divisions; battalion.

"In battles four beneath their eye,
The forces of King Robert lie."

Scott. *The Lord of the Isles.* VI. x.

³ So in original. A word appears to have dropped out, such as *seek*, or something equivalent. The translation has *captabant*. S.

⁴ With this sentence, compare *Advancement of Learning*, II. x. 13.

when it is solid and reduced:¹ and lastly, his old age, when it waxeth dry and exhaust.² But it is not good to look too long upon these turning wheels of vicissitude, lest we become giddy. As for the philology³ of them, that is but a circle of tales, and therefore not fit for this writing.⁴

¹ *Reduce.* To subject; to make subject to one; to bring under one, into or under one's power, within bounds.

² *Exhaust.* Exhausted.

³ *Philology.* The love or study of learning and literature. Bacon uses the word *philology* in its old sense, the study of literature generally, the relation of literature and literary records to history, etc. The modern sense limits *philology* to the study of language or linguistics.

⁴ In connection with this essay, read in the *Wisdom of the Ancients, Nemesis; or the Vicissitude of Things.*

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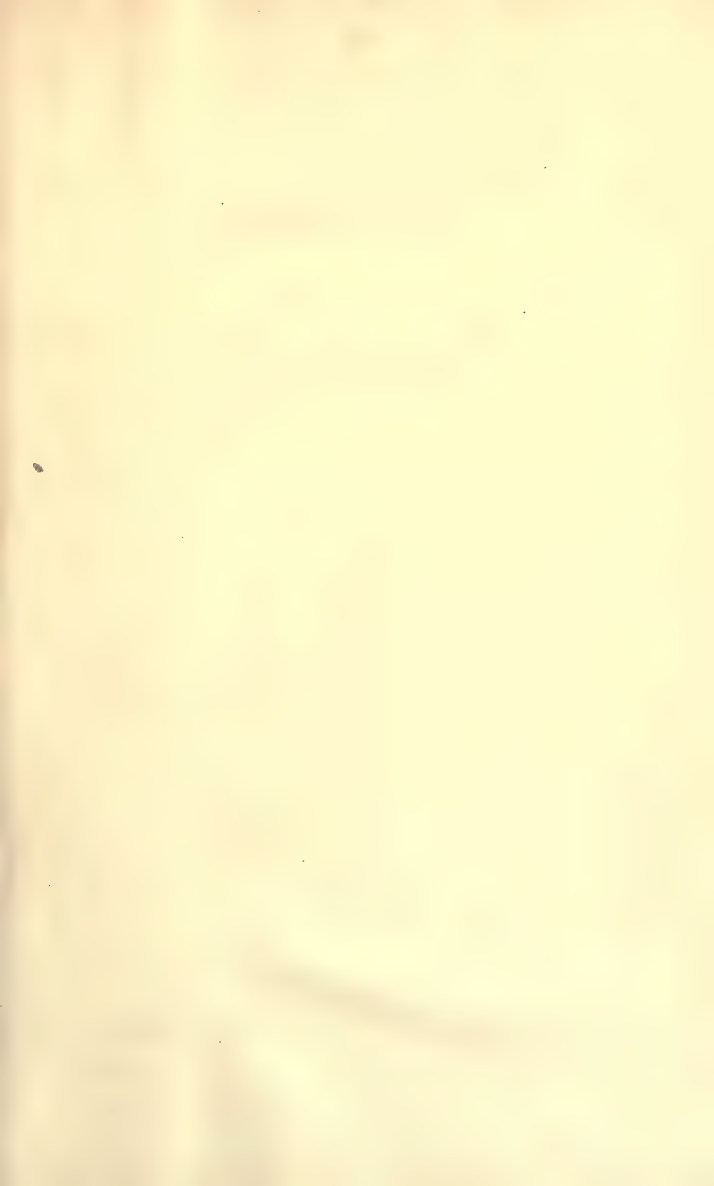
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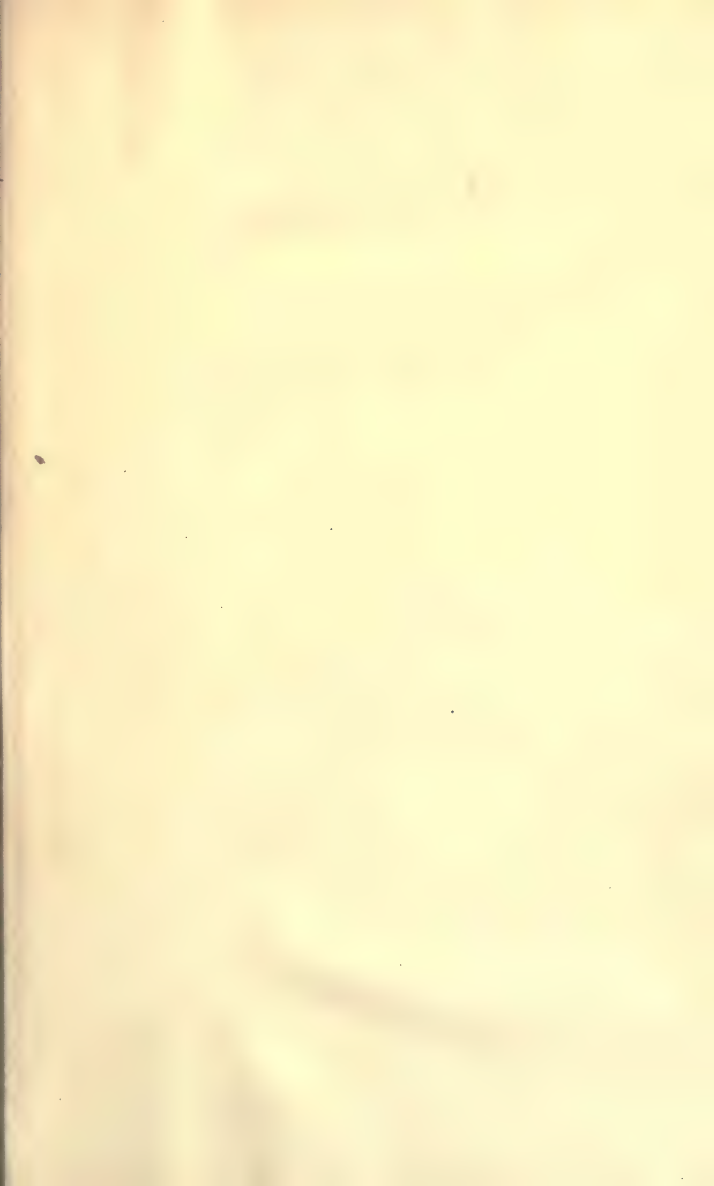
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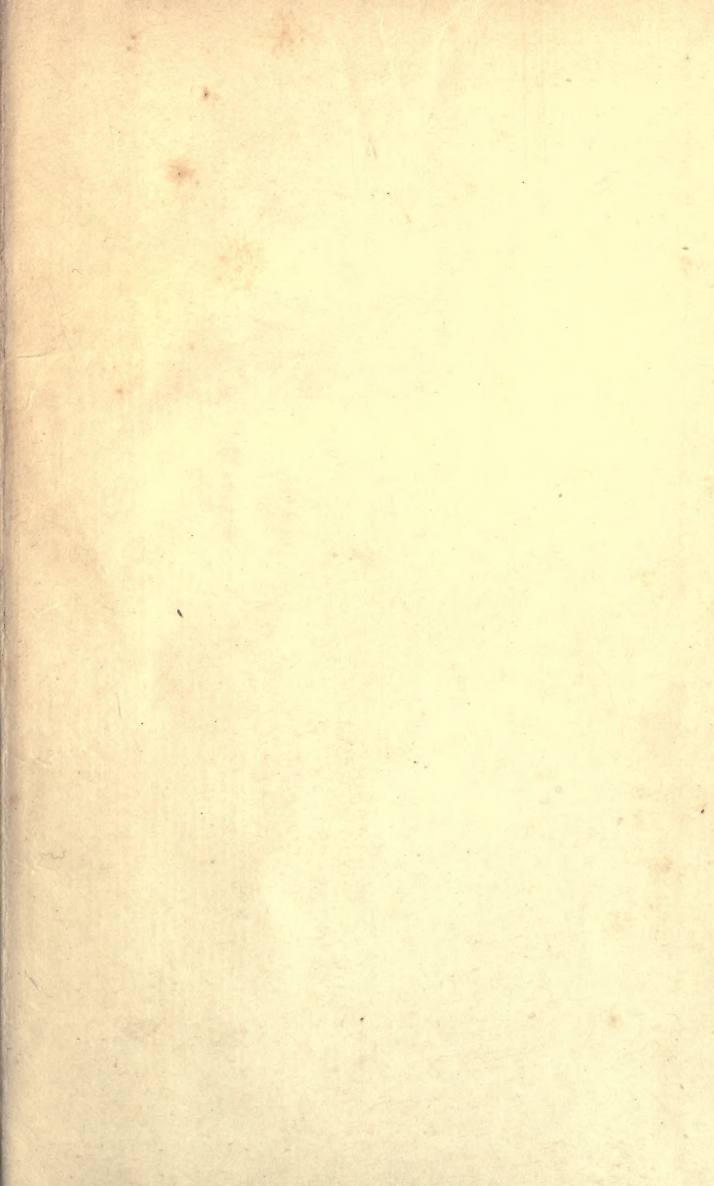
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